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JULY

VOL. XVIII., No. 4

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# CURRENT HISTORY



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## DAWN OF THE NEW ERA IN EUROPE

*By Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, Ph.D., LL.D.*

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*By Sidney Webb, Founder of the Labor Party*

## GRECO-TURKISH CRIMES TRACEABLE TO EUROPEAN NATIONALISM

*By Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee*

## MUSSOLINI ACQUITTED OF DESPOTISM

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*By Thomas Mann, Eminent German Author*

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THE RIGHT HON. STANLEY BALDWIN



Underwood

*British Prime Minister in succession to Mr. Bonar Law; born Aug. 3, 1867; elected to the House of Commons, 1908; first Ministerial appointment as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1917; President of the Board of Trade, April 1, 1921; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Oct., 1922; Prime Minister, May, 1923*

# DAWN OF THE NEW ERA IN EUROPE

By JEREMIAH W. JENKS, Ph. D., LL. D.

Research Professor of Government and Public Administration,  
New York University; Chairman, Board of Directors, Alexander  
Hamilton Institute, New York; Member of International Conference  
of Experts Invited by the German Government to Report  
Upon the Stabilization of the Mark

*Financial, economic and political conditions still bad in many countries of Europe—Both victor and vanquished nations involved in troubles—Heritage of social unrest, economic suffering and political hatreds—Cause for optimism in change of mental attitudes—Progress in Italy, Czechoslovakia and Austria—Conciliation between France and Germany near*

AMERICAN feeling regarding Europe for the last year or two has been pessimistic. From time to time, especially within the last few weeks, we have heard reports that seem to show slight improvement here and there, but in the main the tone of returning visitors and the official reports, especially as regards the political situation, have not been encouraging. It will be worth while to note the reasons for this feeling, to explain why the time has come for optimism, and to give my reasons for believing that the time is coming, in the not distant future, for American aid, both official and private.

Conditions in Europe are bad, financially, economically, politically—worst of all, perhaps, politically. If one asks the best authorities in Europe, scholars, business men, Government officials, for the causes, the answers, though varying somewhat in the different countries, will practically all lead back, first to the war, and second to the terms of peace and the acts of different Governments in connection with peace. More emphasis in practically all of the countries is placed upon the so-called "peace situation" than upon the war.

Every one grants that the war, with its killings of millions of men and the maiming and incapacitation of many more millions, and the consequent placing of the burden of the support of still more millions of their dependents upon the body politic, has naturally brought about serious industrial losses. Added to this is the wasteful destruction of billions of dollars' worth of property and the crippling of the industrial forces, both as regards raw material, fuel, power of various kinds, and perhaps most of all the disorganization of business itself and of markets.

In the countries that met with defeat in the war the terms of Versailles Treaty are looked upon as the chief cause of their present suffering. In Germany they speak of their dismembered territory, of the unbearable

burden of reparations, of the apparent determination, especially of France, to dismember the country and cripple it permanently. In Austria and Hungary they speak of the deprivation of their most valuable territories from the economic and industrial viewpoint, of the loss of population, much of which they feel would have been loyal to them, and of the unbearable burdens of reparations. Since the Allies have granted Austria a postponement of reparation claims for a series of years her citizens place no immediate emphasis upon reparations, but they still mourn the loss of territory and of population which they claim rightfully belong to them. In Hungary, although there is some hope of the burden of cash reparations being lightened or postponed they still speak despairingly of their losses to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia of much of their valuable territory. They feel that, unless there is some possibility of a revision of the Treaty which will restore to them much of what they have lost their future can be only one of struggle and little satisfaction. In these countries, naturally, the feeling regarding their economic losses gives also their explanation of their financial disasters. Deprived of their most valuable properties the Governments cannot realize the incomes that are absolutely needed. Left with a large part of their former expensive political organization, they have as yet, they say, been unable to adjust their political organization (that is, the large number of their office-holders and their expenses) to the actual needs of their present Government, although they have made heroic efforts toward that end in the face of threatened and sometimes actual revolutions. They believe, however, that they have made, and will continue to make progress in that direction.

#### DISCONTENTED MINORITIES

Some of these troubles, however, are found also in the countries of the victors. In Jugoslavia, for example, they have found serious difficulty in building up a new political organization, skilled and competent to administer harmoniously the work of government in their greatly enlarged territory with its varied population, large numbers of whom have been trained in different traditions and have, in consequence, different views.

In all these countries, the political factors cause serious friction, which at times seems to threaten disaster. This friction is found both in their internal administration and in their international relations. In a State with a Government as strong and efficient, in many ways, as that of Czechoslovakia, there is very great dissatisfaction on the part of the Slovaks, who complain bitterly of what they feel to be their mistreatment by the Czechs. In a document circulated by a prominent political organization among the Slovaks, presented to a meeting of the League of Nations Association in Budapest in September, 1922, they even went so far in expressing their grievances as to intimate that unless some relief could



be obtained, there might well be danger of revolution against the dominating Czechs.

Jugoslavia also is not without her internal political troubles, and from a somewhat similar cause. The Slovenes in Croatia and the Montenegrins complain bitterly of the attitude toward them of the Serbs. The difficulty is explained by the more thoughtful leaders as a difference in conception of the best form of government for the country. They say that the Serbs favor a centralized form of government, whereas the Slovenes and Montenegrins believe in a decentralized Government, with large autonomous powers left to the different divisions of the country. But those factions that demand autonomy favor separate local Governments and bitterly accuse the Serbs, who excel in numbers and wealth, of a desire so to dominate and control the entire State as to work oppression of the other elements. These different racial elements, so far as they are minorities, even



Underwood

## JEREMIAH WHIPPLE JENKS

One of America's foremost authorities on economics and international affairs. In addition to having a distinguished record as a university professor and writer, he has served the United States Government on various important missions abroad

in the victorious countries, are likely to trace back the origin of their troubles to the Treaty of Versailles; while in the conquered countries, the Treaty of Versailles is considered the chief element in all their sufferings, not only political but also economic and financial.

#### HATREDS LEFT BY THE WAR

Even more complaint in many cases is made by the various States of Europe regarding their international relations. In the first place, there remain many of the bitter hatreds stirred up by the war and the acts following the war, both before and since the Treaty of Versailles. As between Bulgaria and Serbia, for example, it is the opinion of many of the most thoughtful people on both sides, that highly desirable as it is that those countries work together in commercial and industrial matters, it will be very difficult to secure for their Governments the necessary freedom of trade on account of the bitter hatreds that exist among the people. On each side they call attention to the terrible atrocities committed by the other during the war, and say that a generation must pass and the personal memory of those atrocities fade before harmonious action can be anticipated. Similar opinions are expressed as regards the feelings between the Hungarians and Rumanians, the Hungarians and Czechs, the Austrians and Serbs. Naturally the feeling is most bitter in the majority of these cases on the part of the defeated peoples, but it exists on both sides.

The leading economists and well-trained statesmen of all these countries mostly all desire a much greater freedom of trade than they have been able so far to obtain. It has often been suggested, for example, that Austria can never prosper economically because her great City of Vienna has been deprived of its tributary territory by the Versailles Treaty. On the other hand, some of the best-informed men and economists in Vienna say that they see no reason why Vienna and Austria as a whole should not regain much, if not all, of their former prosperity in good time, provided arrangements can be made for substantial freedom of trade with the surrounding countries. Economic boundaries are not normally coterminous with political boundaries. If freedom of trade were allowed, Vienna would soon regain its former position as a banking and financial, commercial and industrial, centre. Vienna's situation, her water and railway connections, as well as her normal business connections in all ways, would soon bring back her position as an industrial and financial centre, and in that position she could render services to the surrounding countries that would tend to bring about harmony and prosperity to all parties concerned. The chief troubles are racial hatreds and political disabilities which have been largely brought about by the memories of the war and by the peace treaties.

These facts no thoughtful observer will deny. Illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely by statements from influential men in Rome, Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Berlin, Prague, Paris,

London; but I need not dwell further upon the situation itself or its causes. What are the remedies? When an American asks this question in almost any of the continental countries, the answer is likely to be: "Only through the help of America can a solution be found." There are, of course, different views as to the kind of help that America can give. In France the question of the interallied debts is likely to be raised at once. In most of the other countries that were engaged in the war, attention is concentrated mainly upon financial help. In the countries that suffered worst, such as Serbia and Austria, where large sums of American money were spent in direct relief work, it is evident that many are thinking of further work along that line. Of course, the more important business men, statesmen and economists are no longer thinking of relief. They hope rather for loans from America or investments of American capital. In connection with security that can be offered they naturally do not feel so keenly the very great drawback in the political situation that financiers realize at once. As regards private investments, they often fail to recognize the difficulties from political insecurity, depreciated currencies, and the utter instability of industrial as well as political conditions. When the question is specifically asked, "Just what can America do, or what can Americans do?" it is impossible for them to name practical remedies.

Rarely—but occasionally—they think that if America were to join the League of Nations, it would be helpful; but there again, if you ask in just what way membership in the League would help the situation, they find it difficult to reply. They may say that the moral influence of America would improve conditions; but in the case of the defeated countries, that can mean nothing more than that they hope in some indefinite way that America could bring about a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, or exert much more direct influence than it now exerts in the reparations commissions; and no really well-informed man in either America or in three or four of the leading allied countries thinks that American influence in either direction would be at all increased by membership in the League. Probably the reverse is true. Heretofore the United States has collaborated, and is now taking part, in the work of the League of Nations, which is of a humanitarian character. American public health officials have worked with the health section of the League in conferences, investigations and reports. Even lately an official delegation of the United States Government has been co-operating at Geneva with the League in connection with the control of narcotics, and co-operation has already taken place in other matters of a similar nature. Our Government does not co-operate in questions that are primarily political, or that are intimately tied up with the jealousies and hatreds to which I have already referred, and few people can see any way in which its co-operation in those fields would serve any end further than to embitter those hatreds and turn so vigorously against us the enmity of the groups whose opinions differed from ours, that it would weaken our opportunities for usefulness along financial and hu-



manitarian lines, where we may usefully assist and where we are already giving co-operation.

It will be noted from the statement of the conditions that the prime remedy must, in the first place, be a change in the sentiments and the mental attitudes of the residents of the countries themselves; with that change, much can be done by America to furnish financial aid together with co-operation along industrial, and eventually, perhaps, even along political lines. The hopeful feature, and one that even now is sufficient to make one optimistic, is that one can already see the beginnings of this change in sentiment, and there are good reasons for believing that a pronounced change is coming in the near future.

#### CHANGES IN MENTAL ATTITUDE

Within the last year—even within the last six months—in Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and, until France entered the Ruhr Valley, even in Germany, one could note a distinct change in the attitude of many public men and of the most thoughtful of private individuals trained in government and business. They had begun to take note again of their natural resources. They had observed that as the seasons went by, and their efforts had begun to take effect, their fields were regaining their former fertility. They were gradually, though slowly, building up again their trade connections and, on the whole, bad as the economic conditions still are, there has been for the last year or two a noticeable change for the better. Indeed within the last six months, the conditions in several of these countries have very greatly improved.

More important even than the real changes in the industrial situation is the change in the mental attitude of these influential men. They are beginning to rely upon themselves. They are working out plans for the re-establishment of their countries. The statesmen have already initiated conferences with neighboring States to remove trade restrictions of various kinds and thus to build up again their foreign markets. In practically all of the States mentioned, they are now making serious efforts to balance their budgets both by somewhat drastic restrictions upon their expenditures, even, in some instances, at the risk of great political dissatisfaction, and also, in most of the States, by earnest efforts to increase their taxes, here again at political risk and in the face of serious economic difficulties. The change, however, is a most hopeful one. Until that change is effected it is practically useless for the United States, or Great Britain, or other countries, whether through their Governments or through the efforts of private individuals, to offer help in the way of loans or investments in enterprises that are under the control of the Government or that could be greatly affected by the attitude of the Government. Money put in under the earlier conditions would accomplish practically nothing except to increase the future burdens of the State without any really helpful effect. Under the new conditions, how-



ever, with this change in mental attitude of the leading men in the Governments and in private life, there is at least a possibility, which we trust will soon become a practical certainty, that aid given will be so wisely used that it will have a really constructive effect, and that nothing will be wasted. It is worth while noting some special instances of what has already been accomplished in order that we may see how really hopeful the situation is.

#### CONDITIONS IN ITALY

Nearly all late reports from Italy, especially since the change in Government with the advent of Mussolini, are very favorable. One notes first that the present Government seems strong, that encouragement is given to private initiative and thrift, that the crisis looking toward confiscation of private property, toward Bolshevism, seems to have passed, and that long strides have been made toward both Government and private institutions acquiring again a sound position. The budget is in distinctly better condition, and this fact, bringing with it assured tranquillity and public order, is encouraging the increase of production along all lines and the revival of habits of thrift.

Agriculture in many ways is even surpassing the conditions existing before the war. Comparatively lately, about a million and three-quarters acres of land have been reclaimed and are being brought under cultivation, with still a million more acres that may be reclaimed in the not distant future. Better methods of cultivation are being introduced. The quantity of live stock in the country is greater than before the war. Many industries, especially silk-worm culture, have increased considerably.

Industrial production is likewise on the mend. Although there have been great difficulties owing to the depreciation of the currency and the earlier labor troubles, a general recovery is clearly on the way. In 1913 there were over 265,000 emigrants from Italy to the United States; this number had been decreased to 42,000 in 1921-22, owing largely to the American immigration restriction laws. In spite, however, of this great decrease in emigration, unemployment in Italy has really lessened.

Even with the difficulties of the currency circulation, foreign trade has increased. This is particularly due to the acts of the Government itself, which abolished some time ago all embargoes on both incoming and outgoing products. The Government has taken up with other countries, especially France and Switzerland, the negotiation of commercial treaties that will tend still further to relieve the burdens on foreign trade.

Although the currency has been depreciated, the country has not increased its paper currencies since the beginning of 1921. There was a considerable decrease during 1921 and 1922. During the year 1922 there was a considerable increase in savings deposits and in the holdings in interest-bearing bonds.

There have been also very noteworthy economies in the various

branches of the Government administration, a tendency toward lessening expenditures and helping to balance the budget. Looking in the same direction, the Government has under serious consideration the turning over of some of the large public industries, especially the telephone service, heretofore in the hands of the Government, to private agencies.

Strong efforts are being made to secure investments of foreign capital, especially for the development of water power, to use in the electrification of cities, railroads and other similar enterprises. All the different parties in the Government stand ready to unite in giving necessary assurances to foreign investors, affecting the protection of their capital from extortionate taxation or other excessive governmental burdens, and its protection against lawlessness from private sources. On the whole, the situation has distinctly improved.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Czechoslovakia a strong Government that has in large measure the confidence of the people has accomplished much. By drastic measures the depreciated currency was increased three-fold in value. This appreciation brought a reduction in prices and an accompanying reduction in wages, leading to a commercial crisis, sharp, but necessary and effective. The Government held to its policy, and the worst seems to be over. It has also been doing much to bring about better international trade relations. From these measures a number of important improvements are already to be noted. Sugar refineries and distilleries are selling their products more easily. An important development in the export of coal and pig iron is observed, followed by the reopening of certain blast furnaces and steel works. The machine industry, the textile, chemical, paper, and glass industries are all moving upward. The number of unemployed has been reduced. An important consequence of this improved situation is that Czechoslovakia is ready to arrange for payment of her obligations to the United States, and that her credit abroad has been practically re-established.

#### AUSTRIA

The most noteworthy change is to be found in Austria. Until within the last few weeks the conditions there were probably worse than anywhere else in Europe, outside of Russia. When Austria was in the depth of her misfortune her Prime Minister (Dr. Seipel) practically placed his country in the hands of its foreign creditors, its opponents in the late war. Acting with the advisory co-operation of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, France, Great Britain, Italy and Czechoslovakia, and to a slight degree some of the smaller countries of Europe, undertook to furnish the necessary means to tide Austria over the period of transition, provided she would take the necessary political and financial steps to enable her ultimately to stand upon her feet and meet her obligations.

In spite of the normal jealousy of the political parties within the country, the feeling of patriotism was strong enough to enable Austria to meet the conditions. The country has been practically put into the hands of Dr. Zimmerman, an able administrator from the Netherlands, as Chief Administrator, with a small council of advisers representing the different creditor nations. The Government is co-operating with these experts. Before the middle of January it had discharged more than 25,000 officials whose services were no longer necessary, 25,000 more are to go in the near future, and this number is to be increased to 100,000 within two years. There has been no further issue of paper currency since Oct. 18, 1922, and the Austrian crown has remained substantially stable now for some three-quarters of a year, although its value is still low. The essential condition of stability, however, has been substantially attained. Confidence has been restored, so that bank deposits have greatly increased, doubling within a period of less than two months. Internal loans have been floated by the banks and by private subscription, while the larger international loan of about \$130,000,000 has been guaranteed and largely raised by the chief creditor countries. The United States has subscribed \$25,000,000 to this erstwhile bankrupt country that is now able to offer security. These economic and financial improvements have brought about a decided change in the political situation. Talk of a reunion with Germany has practically disappeared. Bolshevik ideas are no longer popular. The Socialist parties talk now of democratic, not revolutionary, methods. Efficiency in the public service is rapidly increasing, and Austria, until recently the despair of Europe, is now becoming the model State, setting an example for others whose finances and monetary systems are still in a precarious condition.

#### FRANCE AND GERMANY

The great problem of Central Europe centres around the relations between France and Germany. There is no space to discuss this situation in detail. The only possibility of giving a fair judgment is to attempt to see the question separately from the viewpoints of the two chief contending powers. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the great mass of the German people still believe that they fought a defensive war, which they would have won had the United States not intervened. They felt that the war was forced upon them through Russia, partly by old-time hatred of France, partly by the machinations of Great Britain, whose traders and financiers were jealous of the great efficiency of German business men and their costly business rivalry. With this feeling, individuals, especially the business interests, have doubtless evaded in many ways payment of their taxes, and have so far as possible kept their credits abroad out of the reach of the taxgatherer. So, too, they have used every effort, partly with the knowledge and consent of members of the International



Reparations Commissions, to build up their manufacturing plants, their shipping, their railroads. They had to do this in order to put themselves in a position to meet their future obligations. Many of them undoubtedly hoped that their newly built up strength might be used primarily, if not solely, for their own benefit, and that reparations might in some way be largely escaped.

It is not for me to attempt to estimate the amount of reparations that Germany should or can pay. It is an interesting fact that figures given me by German economic experts were as high as those given by American experts who had been on the ground in Germany and France since the war, and even larger than those given me in confidence by British experts as the most that Germany could meet. From observations made in Germany, my own belief has been that the amounts might be made somewhat higher than those suggested by these experts, provided the Allies would fix definite figures in the not distant future, with proper discounts for anticipated payments and with the certainty that in proportion as payments were made, the troops would be withdrawn from the occupied territory, so that the German workmen might feel that their country was again their own. Hope and confidence are powerful, even as factors in finance and industry.

#### FRENCH DEMAND FOR SECURITY

The sympathy of Americans is generally, and naturally so, with France. France was doubtless the greatest sufferer in Western Europe from the war. Her country was invaded, her industries destroyed, her mines flooded, her orchards and forests cut down, her sons killed and maimed by the millions, her families left desolate. The burden of her debt, mainly to her own people, for rebuilding the devastated regions is so heavy that unless reparations can be secured from Germany in the near future her Treasury will be practically bankrupt. She cannot balance her budget now, and can pay her internal debts only by making new loans, while with our consent for the present she ignored her obligations to us, interest as well as principal. She has suffered devastation at the hands of Germany twice within about half a century. She does not wish to undergo again that experience. She demands first of all security; second, such reparations as Germany can pay. Opinions differ as to the best way of obtaining security. If her troops hold the Ruhr, France feels safe. If America and Great Britain were to enter into a formal treaty guaranteeing her against future attacks from Germany she would feel safe. It has been suggested by some that a combination of certain Continental nations with Great Britain and France might be sufficient to guarantee her safety, while still others urge that security can be best attained by building up joint economic relations on some plan which will make German industrial prosperity interdependent with similar prosperity in France.

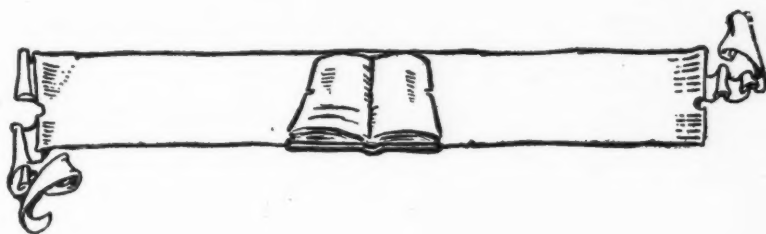
No one man can predict just what form an agreement may take which



will assure reasonable security for France and at least some reparations. On the other hand, the situation in both France and Germany is extremely critical and becoming continually more dangerous. In France last Winter I was told by prominent French experts that in their judgment the French people must go through still more suffering before they would be ready to take a view of the situation that would be practicable. As yet, they thought, the people are demanding the impossible. This view has since been confirmed by later news from France.

#### AMERICA'S AID NEEDED

At about that same time Germany's best men were ready to counsel serious sacrifices, and even the surrender, for the time being, of much of her autonomy to fair-minded foreign experts, who might largely control her financial affairs until a solution had been found, provided a practicable plan, fully approved by the Allies, could be worked out. Political conditions have been such that the test of French strength against German stubbornness was probably inevitable. The test is being made. So much is gained. Probably through more suffering on both sides a plan for solving the problem will be reached in the not remote future. Any solution will doubtless require the aid of both Great Britain and America. There seems every reason to believe that that aid will be given unstintedly. Our Government has stated repeatedly through various channels that it is not only willing, but eager to lend every assistance in its power, just as soon as any practicable plan is presented. The Governments of Europe, including those most vitally interested, have been so assured, and the assurance has been repeated. Until these offers are accepted, our intervention would be resented and would fail. Back of our Government, I am confident, stand the best minds and the strongest financial and business interests of the United States, eager also to help solve this vital problem. Until a plan shall have been formed and its execution begun, there will be no certain prosperity in either Europe or America. When such a plan has been agreed upon and the first steps taken, the recovery of Europe, economical, financial, and even political, will be certain and relatively swift. And this recovery will mean much to America.



# THE TRUTH ABOUT NEAR EAST ATROCITIES

By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Koraes Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History at the University of London, England; member of Middle Eastern Section, British delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris; author of "Nationality and the War," "The New Europe," "Chapters on Greece in the Balkans," "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey." Professor Toynbee has traveled extensively in Turkey since the close of the World War, and the monumental study last listed was based on his own investigations of the atrocity charges on Turkish territory. He has recently returned from another visit to Turkey, his itinerary including Angora, the seat of the new Turkish Government, and sections of Asia Minor evacuated by the Greeks under compulsion by the armies of Mustapha Kemal. Professor Toynbee is internationally recognized today as one of the greatest living authorities on the question of atrocities in the Near East

*The horrors of the present situation in the Near East, especially in Anatolia—Burning of Smyrna offset by outrage and atrocity committed by Greeks—All Near East peoples equally guilty of bloody deeds—Race intermingling and infusion of Western political ideas the cause—Adjustment near*

ARE the Turks and Greeks civilized, or can they be civilized? Any one who saw their mutual barbarities, without knowing more about them, would almost certainly conclude that both nations are beyond redemption. Suppose, for instance, that a stranger to the Near East were to make the journey that I made last month from Constantinople to Angora, from Angora to Smyrna and from Smyrna back to Constantinople. At every stage he would be confronted with horrors which, assuming him to be ignorant of local history and unable to communicate intimately with the local peoples, would appear to defy explanation.

At Constantinople, to begin with, he would find about 23,000 Greek refugees, dying at the average rate of 10 per cent. monthly from typhus, smallpox, bad accommodation and malnutrition. Why were they here? Because the Turkish authorities had expelled them from their homes along the northeastern coast of Anatolia before the Greek Government, already overburdened with refugees

from elsewhere, was in a position to receive them. Could not the Turks have let them alone for a few months longer, and so spared them this misery? Almost certainly they could have done so with little danger to themselves, for although this Greek minority in Northeastern Anatolia had made a formidable rebellion in 1920-1, when Turkey was already fighting for her life against a Greek invading army in the west of the country, the rising had been successfully put down, the Greek Army had been driven into the sea, and the Turkish Nation's title to its Anatolian home-lands was no longer disputed. Surely this was an occasion for generosity to the vanquished and the helpless. The offending minorities were in any case to be exchanged compulsorily, for a convention to that effect had been signed already by the Greek and Turkish Governments. In these circumstances, was it not fiendish to aggravate, instead of diminishing their sufferings? Undoubtedly—but, lest my hypothetical stranger should hastily set the whole

tale of Near Eastern horrors to the account of the Turk, I shall ask him to keep an open mind until he has visited the Turkish quarantine station at Klazomenai, in the Gulf of Smyrna.

At Klazomenai he will find survivors of the 3,000 Turkish civilian hostages who were deported to the Greek island of Melos during the Greek military occupation of Western Anatolia and who have only just been released in pursuance of a convention concluded between the two Governments (in addition to the Minorities Convention) at the first conference of Lausanne. Some of them are dying in hospitals from the effects of prolonged under-nourishment, which it is too late to remedy; from the remainder, typhus is still taking its toll. During their long captivity in Melos they were given neither food sufficient to sustain life, nor shelter, nor medical attention. To buy bread they sold the clothes off their backs, and when those were gone, it was a race between starvation and death from exposure. There were several doctors among them (one of whom was my chief informant), but these doctors could obtain from the Greek authorities neither drugs nor facilities for looking after their fellow-prisoners. More than a third of the original number had perished before the survivors secured their release.

Ought we then simply to reverse the colors of our traditional picture and paint the Turks white and the Greeks black? The result would be no nearer to nature, and by the time the Western traveler reaches Klazomenai he will have become more sophisticated, for, in order to get there, he will probably have passed through Smyrna City, and have gazed on an abomination of desolation which, less than a year ago, was a hive of human activity.

When one touches upon the responsibility for the Smyrna catastrophe, it is best to speak with caution, for weighty witnesses differ. I have personally discussed it with

two Consular officers, belonging to powers of the first rank and themselves men of undoubted intelligence and honor, of whom one laid the chief blame on the Turks, and the other on the Greeks and Armenians. My final conclusion, however, which I base on a combination of evidence, is that in Smyrna City (as opposed to Smyrna Province) the Armenians and the Turks share the blame while the Greeks are probably innocent. After the Turkish occupation, which was accomplished without bloodshed, a secret Armenian organization (promoted not by the local Armenian community but by embittered exiles from Cilicia) started to bomb Turkish patrols in the Armenian quarter. House to house fighting ensued; houses were set on fire—it is uncertain by which party; and when once the fire had started, Turkish soldiers and civilians began to kill and plunder. That, in my belief, is the most probable reconstruction of events which occurred amid such panic and confusion that absolute certainty may be unattainable.

But lest the Greeks should make the burning of Smyrna (as, indeed, they are making it) an occasion for propaganda, the Western visitor to Smyrna would be well advised not to confine his observations to the city, but to travel up the French or British Railway into the interior, or else to come down to the West coast, as I did, from Angora via Afium Kara Hissar along the line of the Greeks' retreat in their final débâcle.

#### DEVASTATIONS BY GREEKS

Kara Hissar itself is little damaged, for the Greeks had no time to carry out their plans, but between Kara Hissar and Smyrna they systematically devastated all the towns and the more accessible villages. I myself visited Ushag, Alashehr and Manysa, and afterward saw the site of what had been Banderma, on the Marmora coast, on my way from Smyrna to Constantinople.



At Ushag I talked with the French station master, who had been on the spot at the moment of the Greek evacuation. He described the deliberateness of the incendiarism and the killing, and the town itself told its own tale. Every fourth or fifth house seemed to have been fired, and while in some cases the flames had been mastered quickly, in others whole blocks had been destroyed before the fire was stayed. Alashehr was far worse than Ushag. In this city of perhaps 35,000 inhabitants, which I had seen intact two years before, hardly a house remained standing. I was told that Kassaba was as bad, but I cannot speak here at first hand, as the station is far from the town and the train did not stop long enough to allow a tour of inspection. Manyasa, the last big town before Smyrna, I found half destroyed, like Ushag. Eskishehr, the railway junction between Angora, Kara Hisar and Constantinople, has been more fortunate. About three-quarters of it have escaped destruction. But the only city in the Greek zone of occupation that has come out unscathed is Brusa, and that is thanks to a party of French officers, who were hastily dispatched there, immediately before the Greek evacuation, from Constantinople.

This is what one can see in a five-weeks' journey (I was not absent longer than that from London) at the present moment, and one can pursue the story back into the past almost indefinitely. Under Lord Bryce's direction, I edited the British Governments "Blue Book on the Treatment of the Armenians in 1915," and I believe that the documents which we published give a substantially true picture. Certainly they are corroborated by the reports published by Dr. Lepsius, since the armistice, from the archives of the German Foreign Office; and even when one has deducted the amplest margin for exaggeration, the residue is appalling. But then I am just as

much convinced by the Carnegie "Report on the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars," which records what Greek and Bulgarian soldiers did and what European and Moslem civilians suffered three or four years before. During the War for Greek Independence, Turkish atrocities, like the Massacre of Chios in 1822, balance the spoliation and extermination of the Turkish population of the Peloponnese by the Greek insurgents in 1821.

#### BLOODY DEEDS ANTEDATE TURK ADVENT

The chain of outrage and reprisal was not started by the Turks, for you find it in full swing at a date before the arrival of the Turks in Asia Minor. The Turks did not invade Asia Minor till A. D. 1050; and thirty-seven years before, in the last round of the medieval struggle for supremacy in the Balkan Peninsula between the Greeks and Bulgarians, the Greek Emperor Basil, "the Bulgar slayer," already knew as much as the most accomplished Turk could teach him. "His cruelty," writes Gibbon, "inflicted a cool and exquisite vengeance on 15,000 captives who had been guilty of the defense of their country; they were deprived of sight; but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror; the nation was awed by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge." In the sixth generation, when their opportunity came, the Bulgars proved to the world that the Greeks were not the only cruel Near Eastern nation.

Perhaps enough has been said to show that the Near Eastern peoples do not differ in kind from one an-



other. But the question then suggests itself whether they may not all alike be inhuman, or at least of a humanity so alien to ours that the gulf fixed between them and us may be impassable. There are moments, certainly, when one has this feeling. One seems at such times to be confronted not by human beings but by blood-thirsty beasts of prey. I can remember an incident which, though trifling, made a deep impression on me. My readers might suppose that the "Bulgar slayer," one of whose exploits I have just quoted, would be discreetly pushed into the background by his modern fellow-countrymen. Far from this being so, however, the Balkan War produced the legend of a "Bulgar eater" in the Basilian tradition, and a crude colored broadsheet displays this hero with his teeth buried in the throat of his Bulgarian adversary, whose terror-stricken eyes are starting out of his head. One day, two years ago, when I was a guest in a Greek military mess in Asia Minor, my eye suddenly caught this picture staring at me from the opposite wall, and though I had seen it often enough before, I could not conceal the disgust produced by the sudden apparition. There was a moment's silence, and then my hosts passed off the incident with uneasy laughter.

Are these Near Easterners just inhuman, then, and therefore unintelligible? I am profoundly convinced, from my personal experience of them, that this is not the case, but that all of them—Greeks and Turks, Bulgars, Armenians and Serbs—are men of like passions with ourselves. Of course they do not belong to the Western variety of the species. They are, on the whole, more hospitable and less humane, more grateful and less just, more easy going and less forgiving than we are. But these are rather differences of degree, like the differences that separate us from our ancestors. If we are to find a rational explanation, we cannot fall

back upon hypothetical differences of nature—which become less credible the larger and wider one's personal acquaintance with individuals of these races is—and we must look for some difference in the conditions.

#### RACE INTERMINGLING

The obvious difference is that, whereas in the West nationalities are mostly segregated into compact groups with distinct habitats, in the Near East they are (or were originally) intermingled in the same towns and villages, and correspond to social classes or economic professions at least as much as to nations in our Western sense. It is not necessary to enter here into the historical origins of this phenomenon, except to note that it cannot have been the result of intolerance and fanaticism, though it has become a cause of both these vices during the latter phases of its existence. Chronic warfare between these intermingled Near Eastern peoples has not, however, been the rule; and unworkable though the intermixture appears, according to our Western notions, it has for long periods served as the basis for a social equilibrium as admirable, of its kind, as that which we Westerners have reached along an altogether different line of development.

This is the main contention advanced in the well-documented statement read by Ismet Pasha to his colleagues at the Lausanne conference on Dec. 12, 1922, and in this the verdict of most historians will be with him. The possibility of keeping the peace between several nationalities having the same country and each enjoying the widest religious, educational and cultural autonomy has been demonstrated by the history of the Universal Monarchy of the Ancient Persians and the Arab Caliphate, and also by that of the Ottoman Empire until about a century and a half ago.

Why has this well-tried system

failed more and more lamentably during the past 150 years? On this point, Ismet Pasha is undoubtedly right, again, in denying that the cause of trouble has been religious animosity. Is it likely that, exposed as they have been to the influence of our increasingly secular Western culture, the Greeks, Turks, Armenians and the rest should have become more bigoted latterly in their religious feelings than they were before? But if religious bigotry has not been on the increase, it must always have existed among these peoples in at least its present degree; and if it were now sufficiently violent to be the cause of atrocities, how shall we account for the fact that these different religious demonstrations ever contrived to live side by side with one another (an achievement of tolerance of which we Westerners have been capable only during the last two centuries)? Personally I have seen little trace of *religious* fanaticism in any Near Eastern people, and I am convinced that religion cannot have been the cause of the trouble. To my mind, the reference to Western influence supplies the key; for though we Westerners are justly proud of our modern religious tolerance, we have not so much mortified and extinguished our bigotry as transferred it from ecclesiastical controversies to the field of politics and nationalism. Here we are bigots still; and, in acquiring our political ideas, the Orientals have caught, *from us*, the infection which has made havoc of their lives, and for which we Pharisees look down upon them as publicans and sinners.

#### IMPORTED NATIONALISM A CURSE

It is here that Ismet Pasha's statement is not incorrect, in so far as it goes, but inadequate. It seizes the fact that there is a connection between Western politics and Eastern racial warfare, but it traces this connection only in its more superficial aspect by pointing out how often

non-Turkish minorities in the Ottoman Empire have been instigated by the intrigues of foreign powers into fatal courses of disloyalty. This has certainly been an important factor in modern Oriental history. Every one of the local nationalities has been exploited by some Western power or other in the game of international rivalry—the Turks and Druses by Great Britain, the Egyptians and Lebanese by France, the Greeks, Armenians, Bulgars and Serbs alternately by Russia. The records of this immoral practice constitute the "Eastern Question," and Western philanthropists who patronize one Near Eastern people and denounce another, according to their imperfect knowledge or irresponsible fancy, seldom suspect that the real villains of the piece have been the discordant Governments of Europe.

At the same time, it can hardly be contended that the East would have escaped its misfortunes if all the Cabinets of Europe had been virtuous and disinterested, or even if they had gone so far as to abstain entirely from interference in Eastern affairs, because the political influence of the West has not been confined to the activities of Governments. Its strongest current has not been the self-seeking, deliberate and avoidable mischief-making of a few statesmen, but the personal contact between thousands of individual Orientals and Westerners. Western ideas, with their locally anarchic consequences, were bound to make their way into the East from the moment that Orientals began to visit Western countries, and they have been attracted to the West during the last two centuries by the growing ascendancy of Western industry and trade. During the last century and a half, indeed, while certain Western Governments have been extending their domination in Eastern territories, the Western economic system has conquered the world, carrying all the baggage of Western culture in its

train. It was therefore not enough for the Near East to remain politically unmolested. If it was to avoid the perils of infection, it had no remedy short of complete isolation, such as Japan resolved upon in the seventeenth century and practiced steadily for more than 200 years.

Western political intrigues have added enormously to Eastern statesmen's difficulties. Consult, for example, Ali Haydar Bey's life of his father, Midhat Pasha—the celebrated administrator who attempted to save the Balkan Peninsula for the Ottoman Empire during the respite between the Crimean War and the catastrophes of 1875-8. His method was to govern by co-operation between the local nationalities. He organized mixed provincial councils and a mixed gendarmerie, and—finding that the Russian political propaganda worked with most effect upon the young Bulgarians whom it attracted to Russian universities and sent home as apostles of the Pan-Slavonic idea—he put forward a project for establishing mixed secondary schools and universities within the territories of the Ottoman Empire.

His project fell through—by the machinations, it is avowed, of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople—yet it may be questioned whether this remedy would have been entirely effective, even assuming it to have been applied by a man of genius with a free hand. For, after all, the mixed schools of Midhat Pasha's conception, though they would have counteracted the educational propaganda of particular Western Governments, could have done so only if they had offered the Near Eastern Youth an equal opportunity of assimilating Western ideas; and here, again, the infection would have entered, though in a less palpable form.

Our Western culture is political through and through. Politics are our ruling passion, corresponding, as Sir Charles Elliot has suggestively

expressed it, to the passion for religion which dominates the mind of India. It seems evident, therefore, that, short of complete isolation, the Near East was bound to be brought by economic relations into mental contact with its Western neighbors; that, owing to the temporarily superior vitality of the West, the East would at first be the recipient and the West the transmitter of mental impressions; and that, among these impressions, political ideas would engrave themselves especially deeply upon the recipient's mind. This being so, the East was at the mercy of whatever political current was prevailing in the West during the period of contact, and, unfortunately for the East, the victorious principle of Western politics is peculiarly unsuitable for transplantation to an Oriental environment.

#### THE SPARK ON GUNPOWDER

Had the internal history of the West worked out differently, this misfit need not have been. Suppose, for instance, that the Hapsburg Monarchy, whose influence was dominant in the Balkan Peninsula during the greater part of the eighteenth century, had also succeeded in dominating the political system of Western Europe. In that case, Midhat Pasha's schools, had he founded them, would have borrowed from the West the conception of a multi-national Commonwealth which might have elevated, instead of upsetting, the Oriental tradition. But in Europe, and therefore in the Near East also, the star of Austria steadily paled before the star of France, and the political gospel of France has been Nationalism. Are we Westerners content with this political creed? That is an unprofitable question, for we have committed ourselves to it; our whole political life is based on it; our sentiments are bound up with it; in the European war the last experiments in an alternative system have been shattered by



it; and we cannot undo what has been done. Fortunately, the fact that we live for the most part segregated into nationally homogeneous communities makes it, in our case, a tolerable dispensation; and though it is otherwise (that is to say, Near Eastwise) in Ireland and Silesia and Bohemia, these, after all, are exceptional cases which do not affect the general rule. But the conversion of the West to Nationalism has spelled nothing less than disaster to our Near Eastern disciples, for Nationalism falls on mixed nationalities like a spark on gunpowder.

Every one knows that, for the past century, the dominant Western influence in the Near East has been that of France. French—not Italian, English or German—is the Near Eastern lingua franca; and if any contemporary student of history wishes to steep himself in the atmosphere of the French Revolution, let him—since he cannot visit in the flesh the Paris of 1793, or the Greece of 1821, or the Bulgaria of 1878—make a voyage of exploration to the Angora of today. There he will find the republic one and indivisible and the sovereignty of the people (embodied in their constitutionally elected Representatives) dominating the minds of men whose ancestors were obsessed by the Unity of God and by the sovereignty of God's will as revealed through His Prophet.

In modern Turkey, Middle Eastern civilization has been dispossessed by Western civilization, and the bigotry of Islam by the bigotry of Nationalism; and the new religion, transplanted to this alien soil, has been bearing terrible fruits. Even in England and America, the mental tension of the European war has produced outbreaks of witch-hunting against aliens, attacks on the "hyphenated" and campaigns for a "Hundred Per Cent. Anglo-Saxonism." But in the Near East, where the mixture of nationalities is not the exception but the rule, "Ottoman-

ism" and "Hellenism" and their congeners have produced wholesale massacre and eviction. Are we without sin, because we have been less exposed to the same temptation and have to that extent committed and suffered less evil than our Near Eastern neighbors? Surely we are not more virtuous but only less unfortunate than they are; and who knows whether, in the long course of history, the present relative positions may not some time be reversed, and our lives, in turn, be upset by the irresistible influence of some foreign idea?

#### DEATH TOLL OF TRAGIC THEORY

Are we then to take refuge in fatalism, and to excuse the Near Easterner for what he does on the plea that he has no choice but to go on doing it forever, not, this time, because it is his nature, but because it has been forced upon him by his modern Western environment? Such pessimism, I believe, is not warranted by the facts, if we examine them coolly. Let us look upon this Western political influence on the East in its most unfavorable aspect as a kind of mental disease, on a par with the physical diseases which Western traders and colonists bring with them when they first arrive in non-Western countries. The malady has a more virulent effect upon constitutions newly exposed to it than upon those accustomed to it for generations. Hundreds of thousands may be swept away by a first epidemic of nationalism no less than by the first ravages of smallpox or syphilis, but the death rate cannot remain permanently at the level of 1895-97, of 1909, of 1912-13, of 1915 or of 1919-23. Experience shows that though in such cases, an appalling percentage will perish outright, the survivors will sooner or later become immune, and that when the community has paid the price of adjustment to the new environment, equilibrium is established again.



In the present political evolution of the Near East, which is evidently passing through the phase of acute epidemics with a high mortality, can we discern any prospect of the plague being stayed? Fortunately, we can already see some glimmers of daylight through the gloom.

#### "THE RAY OF HOPE"

Take the case of Greece and Turkey. A century of racial warfare has left Anatolia depopulated, Rumelia crowded with a host of refugees which it cannot support, both countries impoverished and both peoples filled with agony and hate. That is the price exacted—not by human cruelty but by the fact of environmental change—for the entry of these Near Eastern peoples into the Western world. But now that the price has been paid, the populations segregated and the nations reorganized, on the Western pattern, into sovereign national States, it looks as though the coming century were likely to be more tranquil than the last, and that devastation will be followed at length by reconstruction.

Though at the present time, in Anatolia, the sights that meet the traveler's eye incline him to despair, his hopes are revived by the thoughts which he discovers in the minds of the people. He finds that nationalism, after impelling the Turks to get rid of the non-Turkish minorities in their midst, is now discouraging them from imperialistic ambitions in

the Arab provinces or in the Balkans; and that, after leading them to exhaust themselves and their country in the struggle for political independence and unity, it is now diverting their energies toward agriculture, commerce and industry, because they have realized that though they may have saved themselves from immediate extinction by the prowess which they have recently displayed in the Western science of war, they can preserve their national existence only by becoming equally proficient in the Western arts of peace. Therefore they are beating their swords into plowshares—the most difficult and most salutary exercise for a victorious military people.

Last month (May, 1923) there was more talk at Angora about the construction of new railways and the importation of agricultural machinery than about armaments or frontiers; while those who can afford to give a good education to their children are training them for technical or commercial careers and not, as formerly, to become officers or officials. These symptoms indicate that the Near Eastern victims of the great Western plague have passed the crisis and are entering upon convalescence. We must not expect their recovery to be rapid, considering the acuteness of the malady, but we may at least venture to hope that the patients will survive and will transmit the immunity which they have so dearly purchased to their less unfortunate children.

# LABOR'S RISE TO POWER IN GREAT BRITAIN

By SIDNEY WEBB, M. P.

This statement of the ideas, aims and methods of the British Labor Party has all the authority that comes from the fact that Mr. Webb has played probably the leading part in the creation of that new political force. Born in London on July 13, 1859, he began his career as a clerk and as a civil servant, first in the War Office and then in the Colonial Office. With George Bernard Shaw and others who have since become distinguished public figures, he helped to establish the Fabian Society as a Socialist organization on a non-Marxian basis. Mr. Webb has been a member of the London County Council, has served on many royal commissions and other official bodies, was the principal founder of the London School of Economics and Political Science as part of the University of London, and in collaboration with his wife has written authoritative works on British trades unionism, and on various aspects of government, industry and social reform. Mr. and Mrs. Webb have long been known for their remarkable ability and thoroughness in research, investigation and the detailed formulation of Socialist policy and method. At the last general election Mr. Webb was elected to the House of Commons

*Growth of Parliamentary strength of the Labor Party from one in 1892 to 142 in 1922 unparalleled in British political history—An organization that includes "all who live by working" and that is supported by many distinguished intellectuals—Opposition to Russian Communist methods*

THE elevation of the British Labor Party (after the general election of November 1922, when it returned to the House of Commons 142 strong) to the position of "His Majesty's Opposition," and assumed to be destined in due course to become "His Majesty's Government," marks an epoch in British political evolution, for the British House of Commons, unlike the Congress of the United States, is the supreme organ of government.

In substance, though not in form, the House of Commons elects the Prime Minister and decides, irrespective of any volition of the King, from which political party all the Ministers of State shall be chosen. It determines, by mere majority vote, upon what general lines of policy the Administration shall be conducted; what taxation shall be levied, subject to no constitutional or other limitation; and (without any veto of King or President, and even without any but a delaying power in the weakest "Second Chamber" in the

world, the hereditary House of Lords) what legislation shall be enacted. And what the House of Commons has created, the House of Commons can at any moment destroy. The negative vote of a mere majority of its members is immediately decisive as to taxation, legislation and general policy. The carrying of a formal vote of "no confidence" in the Ministry of the moment compels their instant resignation, and the coming into power of "the alternative Cabinet," subject only to an appeal to the whole electorate by a summary dissolution of Parliament, if either the outgoing or the incoming Prime Minister chooses so to "advise" the King—advice which is authoritative.

It is because of the commanding position in the State of the British House of Commons—unrestricted by any written Constitution, unchecked by any Supreme Court, unhampered by any rival organization within Great Britain of the nature of State Legislatures, unfettered by any separately elected President, and unimpeded by

any fixed terms of office—that "politics" in Great Britain has such an abiding reality and excites so widespread and so continuous an interest throughout the whole population. Just for this reason, the rise of the British Labor Party, in the course of a single generation, from a solitary member of Parliament thirty years ago to nearly one quarter of the whole House today—from what was deemed a mere "freak" candidature in 1892 to official recognition as "His Majesty's Opposition" in 1923—is a momentous fact, not only for Great Britain, but also, by its suggestive force, for the United States and the whole civilized world.

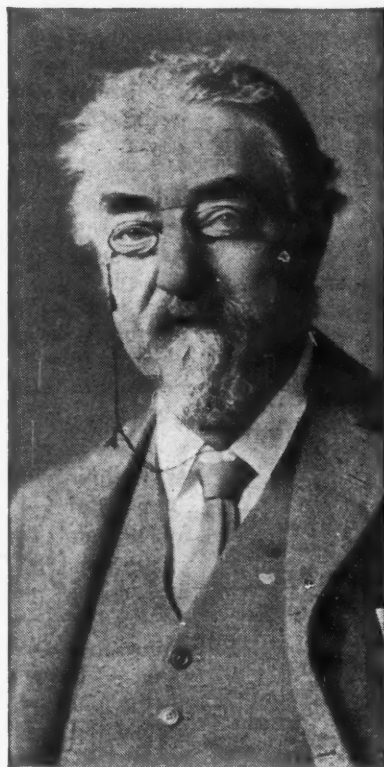
To understand the significance of the British Labor Party we must trace its history.\* We may find its precursor, though scarcely its origin, in the movement for "labor representation" which arose about the time of the adoption of "household suffrage" for

the boroughs (which in America would be termed cities) in 1867. With the advent of a wide democratic suffrage the demand arose for something other than landowner or capitalist Members of Parliament. This popular demand meant, for a couple of

decades, nothing more revolutionary than the election to the House of Commons of a few "workingmen," or manual working wage earners, among the hundreds of members of the Liberal Party. After no little resistance by those who controlled that party, two working coal miners were elected in 1874; a stone mason was added in 1880; in 1885 the number of workmen grew to eleven, and in 1892 to fourteen. But this was not the Labor Party. These workmen members formulated no other policy than that of the Liberalism of the day, and made no attempt to become a separate party. Two of them were appointed to subordinate Ministerial office in Gladstone's Liberal Governments of 1885 and 1892; while another was

actually included in the Liberal Cabinet of 1906-14.

Meanwhile the Fabian Society, from 1887 onward, had been almost continuously calling upon the British workmen to create an independent political party, with a policy of practical collectivism. In the same year James Keir Hardie, a Scottish coal miner, had raised at a by-election in



SIDNEY WEBB

Member of the British House of Commons, who more than any other individual has given the Labor Party in Great Britain its particular character and aims

\*Those who wish to know more of the British Labor Party should write to its Secretary, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., 33 Eccleston Square, London. A \$1 remittance would cover a complete set of its publications, including constitution, annual reports, election programs and books and reports on special subjects. See also "The Labour Year Book" for 1916 and 1919, "History of Trade Unionism," "Industrial Democracy," "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain" and "The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation," all by S. and B. Webb; chapter on "Social Movements" in Volume 12 of "The Cambridge Modern History"; "History of British Socialism," by M. Beer; "History of the Fabian Society," by E. R. Pease; "History of Labour Representation," by A. W. Humphrey; biographies of Joseph Arch, Robert Applegarth, Thomas Burt, Henry Broadhurst, W. J. Davis, J. Keir Hardie, J. H. Thomas, John Wilson and others.



Lanarkshire, the standard of an independent Labor Party, open to persons of all classes, but having a policy distinct from that of either the Liberal or the Conservative Party. Much propaganda by the various small Socialist societies went on during the next eight years. In 1892 Keir Hardie was elected for West Ham. A separate political organization was formed in 1893 (termed "The Independent Labour Party"). During the next few years some thirty candidates were run for Parliament in opposition to all other parties, with uniform ill-success, even Keir Hardie losing in 1895 his hardly won seat. The project of a distinct Labor Party looked hopeless.

#### TRADES UNION ACTION

But the persistent propaganda had had its effect. In 1898 it was proposed to the Trades Union Congress, and in 1899 it was agreed to by that body, that steps should be taken to secure for the workmen's ideals as well as for their class independent representation in Parliament. A "Labor Representation Committee," including representatives of the small Socialist societies as well as of the Trade Unions, with Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald as honorary secretary, was appointed to organize for this purpose. It will be noted that there was, from the outset, no limitation to manual workers. This committee ran fifteen candidates in 1900, but elected two only. The next three years saw six bye-elections thus contested, half of them successfully; and the new party began for the first time to be taken seriously. Its progress was helped by the reactionary attitude of the Conservative Government of that day, which refused to restore the legal status of trade unions, of which the judicial decision in the Taff Vale Railway case had deprived them. Accordingly the trade unions swung their membership into the political arena. At the general election of 1906 the Labor Party was able to put no fewer than fifty candidates in the field, including both workmen and distinguished "intellectuals," against all other parties indifferently. To the general surprise, 29 of them were elected, and these immediately or-

ganized themselves as a separate party in the House of Commons.

We cannot here deal with the activities of the new party, within Parliament and without, during the ensuing decade. The slow and difficult work of building up both local and national party organization; the consolidation, in the law courts as well as in Parliament, of the trade union position; the gradual absorption into the Labor Party of all but two or three of the working-class members of Parliament who had been elected as Liberals; the heavy task of maintaining the party's independence at the two successive general elections of 1910, when the main subjects were Mr. Lloyd George's aggressive schemes of taxation of the rich and the opposition of the House of Lords; and the promotion of as many projects of "collectivist" character as the then state of public opinion would permit—all this severely taxed the powers and resources of the young party.

Then came the severest trial of all, the great war. Some of the leading members of the party (such as J. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden) took up an attitude of opposition to the war and of hostility to the Government. In this attitude of "pacifism" they were followed by a relatively small but extremely active section of the party. At every party conference, however, a substantial majority of the delegates supported the war, and upheld the action of such of its leaders as assisted the Government, even in the most drastic measures rendered necessary by the struggle—these leaders eventually joining the two successive Coalition Ministries, in which Messrs. A. Henderson, John Hodge and J. R. Clynes held high office. Throughout the war all sections of the party strove persistently to get formulated, and agreed to in advance, the conditions of a just peace. At the end of 1917, after much underground negotiation, the "war aims" of the Labor Party, which were presently agreed to by the Labor and Socialist Parties of France, Belgium and Italy, and professedly adopted by Mr. Lloyd George, who was then Prime Minister, were found to be in remarkable accord with the "Fourteen Points" shortly afterward enunciated by President Wilson. When



at last the armistice came, the Labor Party withdrew its members from the Government, and, in view of the coming general election, resumed its attitude of absolute independence. In the memorable struggle of December, 1918, when Conservatives and Liberals under Mr. Lloyd George coalesced against all who opposed his Government, the Labor Party increased its representation from 40 to 60, while Mr. Asquith's Liberals were reduced to 30. Four years later, at the general election of November, 1922, when four distinct parties took the field, the Labor Party fought over 400 seats, polling 4,250,000 votes and returning 142 members, as compared with a total poll of 5,250,000 votes for the Conservatives, to whom fell a majority of the seats, and with 2,000,000 for each of the two rival Liberal parties.

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOR PARTY

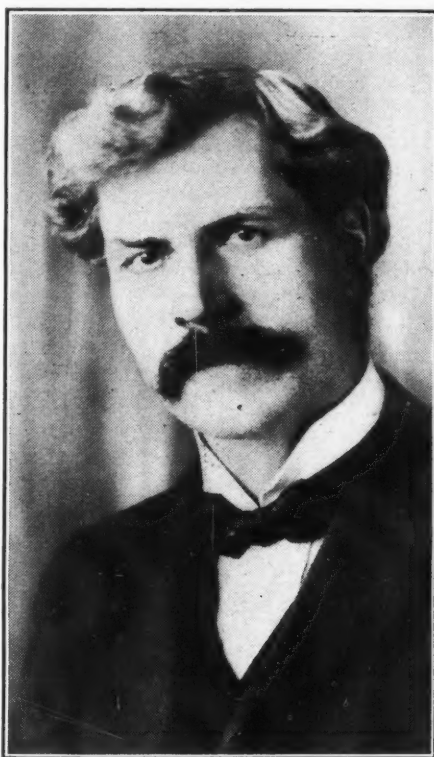
It has already been mentioned that the Labor Party is not, and has never been, restricted to "laborers," or to manual workers, or, indeed, to any class or grade. The Fabian Society, which called for it in 1887-94, has always been anything but a working-class body. The body styled the Independent Labor Party, which, with Fabian co-operation, took up the running in 1893, was from the outset a definitely Socialist society of very mixed membership. The organizing committee of 1900-1 was of equally diverse composition; and the first honorary secretary of the party was its present parliamentary leader, J.

Ramsay MacDonald, who was successively a teacher, a clerk, a journalist and a writer of books. The vast majority of the 4,000,000 members of the Labor Party are manual-working wage-earners, simply because these constitute four-fifths of the whole population of the nation; but the party has always included even more than its

proportionate share of university professors, authors, officials of the National or Local Government departments, teachers, journalists, doctors and scientific workers. During the last few years it has enrolled Bishops and peers, stray landowners, a banker or two, some lawyers and not a few manufacturers and other employers of labor. Historical students will be interested to see in its ranks members of such old Whig families as Russell, Ponsonby, Wodehouse, Trevelyan and Buxton. In short, it is, like any other political party, an organization defined by a common faith and a common program.

For its first eighteen years the Labor Party got on without much elaboration

either of constitution or program. What it was mainly concerned about was to assert and maintain its independence against Liberalism and Toryism. It has been from the outset essentially a federation consisting of trade unions (mainly the larger ones, having in 1923 4,000,000 members affiliated), the Fabian Society, the Independent Labor Party and two other small Socialist societies, with less than 50,000 membership altogether; the local trades councils or local labor parties in practically all the 600 parliamentary constitu-



JAMES RAMSAY MacDONALD

Leader of the Labor Party in the British House of Commons and author of many books on Socialism

encies of Great Britain, together with a few co-operative societies, women's organizations, university societies, &c., all these contributing an affiliation fee of 3d. (6 cents) per member annually. These various bodies joined and were admitted on proof that they agreed with the objects and purposes of the Labor Party as they were formulated year by year at its annual national conference. The various small Communist organizations have always been refused admission.

With the sweeping extension of the franchise in 1918 to all adult men and to practically all women over 30, together with a national redistribution of seats in close conformity with population, a more definite organization of the party became essential. The newly enfranchised 7,000,000 women and 3,000,000 men had to be appealed to. In 1918 the constitution and program of the party were accordingly more elaborately formulated in such a way as to emphasize both the wide range and collectivist character of its proposals and the formal opening of its ranks to individual members of all classes who agreed with its aims.

More important, however, than the changes in the constitution during 1918 was the change of spirit that inspired them. The Labor Party, which had never been restricted to manual working wage earners for the first time publicly invited the adhesion of all workers "by hand or by brain." Its declared object was to be, not merely (as had so often been erroneously assumed) the improvement of the conditions of the wage earner, but "to secure for the producers, by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service." The Labor Party was, in short, to be the Party of the producers of wealth, whether manual workers or brain workers, associated against those who "live by owning," who have continued to dominate both the Liberal and the Conservative parties. Its policy of "common ownership" of land and industrial capital had brought it, as a similar evolution brought John Stuart Mill—to

use his own words in his "Autobiography"—"decidedly under the general designation of Socialist." It is a Socialism which is a definite repudiation of the individualism that characterized all the political parties of the past generation, and that still dominates the House of Commons. This declaration of the Labor Party leaves it open to adopt from time to time whatever forms of common ownership, from the co-operative store to the nationalized railway, and whatever forms of popular administration and control of industry, from national guild to ministries of employment and municipal management, may, in particular cases, commend themselves.

#### SOCIALISM IN PRACTICAL TERMS

How the Labor Party translates its Socialism into practical legislative proposals for reform was revealed in the remarkable pamphlet which it published on its "After the War Program," setting forth in a dozen detailed resolutions passed at the Manchester party conference exactly what it wished done with the railways, the canals, the coal mines, the banking system, the demobilization of the army and munition workers, the necessary rehousing of the people, the measures to be taken for preventing the occurrence of unemployment, the improvement of agriculture, the taxation to be imposed to pay for the war, the reform of the educational system, and what not. A fuller and more detailed statement of the party's policy and program was given in "Labor and the New Social Order," an official and authoritative declaration of the party's proposals for the reconstruction of society. The latest of all such Labor Party declarations is the very explicit and detailed program that it laid before the nation at the general election of November last, which received the support of one-third of all the voters. Thus, by "common ownership," the Labor Party does not commit itself to "nationalization," except in such cases as railways and canals, the mines, banking and insurance, in which (as in the postal service) uniform national administration already appears essential. On the contrary, it contemplates a much wider extension of "municipalization" in which

each local authority will develop its own "public utilities," with an ever-extending definition of what is a public utility. Moreover, for the production and distribution of the entire range of household supplies, from food to furniture, from boots to books, the Labor Party looks, in Great Britain, to a vast development of the consumers' co-operative societies, which already supply, without "private enterprise," or for its profit, a billion dollars' worth of goods to their membership of one-third of all the British families. And on any public expropriation of individual property the Labor Party would give full compensation in Government securities for the whole value of which the individual was deprived. It would "collectivize" in order to assume control, not as a method of filling the State Treasury. But it would pay off State debts and progress toward economic equality, as Jeremy Bentham himself suggested, by scientific taxation, especially of large fortunes and "unearned incomes," on an equitable basis. The "socialism" of the Labor Party—dependent on no fantastic economic theory and requiring no Utopian altruism—is, in fact, the application of representative government to industry, and assumes no more than a gradual but possibly endless extension of principles and schemes already successfully in operation in Great Britain itself.

Political programs have necessarily to be framed in connection with local and

contemporary needs, and apart from their influence on the speeches of the party leaders, through which public opinion becomes gradually converted to specific changes, the program of the Labor Party is less important to the world than the spirit by which it is inspired. Behind

the program of any party which is more than a machine for getting men into office there must lie intellectual principles and moral aims; and it is in the real presence of these in the communion, one with another, of the mass of members of the party, that its salvation resides. It is not enough to say that the intellectual basis of the Labor Party is socialism itself. What is it that the Labor Party is after?

#### WHAT LABOR IS IN REVOLT AGAINST

The Labor Party is in revolt against the present inequality of circumstances—summed up in the fact that one-tenth of the population owns nine-tenths of the wealth, and three-fourths of them, that is to say, the wage-earning class, obtain for all their needs only one-third of the produce of each year's work. We see that this inequality means, to the multitude who are poor, maimed faculties and thwarted desires, unnecessary disease and premature death, and, in the worst cases, squalid bestiality and demoralization of body and soul. We know that it means to the minority who are rich an extraordinary callousness, and a naïve insolence, the more insidious in that it is unselfconscious,



**ARTHUR HENDERSON**  
Member of the British House of Commons; has been leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, and was a member of the War Cabinet. He is probably the most influential representative of the trades union wing of the Labor Party





JOHN ROBERT CLYNES

One of the leaders of the British trades union movement and, since 1906, a member of the House of Commons. He held office in the Coalition Ministry during the war

while in the worst cases we have a fantastic licentiousness. We do not attribute this tragic division of our race into the rich and the poor to any exceptional cruelty or greed among those who happen to be wealthy; nor to any exceptional lack of capacity or industry among those who happen to be poor. We realize, what the economists have taught us, that this evil distribution of material resources is an inevitable result of the "Law of Rent" in a society based on the private ownership of land and capital. It can be remedied only by the gradual diversion, from individual to collective ownership, of the tribute of rent and interest which those who "live by owning" now levy upon those who, whether by hand or by brain, "live by working."

The opponents of the Labor Party urge that any such change would defeat the "struggle for life," and that this struggle

for life, manifested within a nation in the competitive system, is like war between nations, a "biological necessity," without which neither the fittest individual nor the fittest race would survive. British workmen have watched this struggle between one man and another for food, clothing and shelter, as it goes on today wherever the capitalist system prevails, and they find that it does not lead to the survival either of the fittest individual or of the fittest organizations of society, if by "fittest" is meant the most highly developed individual and the most civilized society practicable in a given place and at a given time. On the contrary, we see that the results of the struggle on the character and intellect of the race are not good, but, as a matter of fact, predominantly bad. So much is this the case that the propertied class do all that they can to insure that their own children shall never be subjected to its "bracing" influence!

The aim of the Labor Party is to transcend the struggle for life on the material plane. By the "Policy of the National Minimum"—at present only very partially applied in factory acts and schemes of health, superannuation and unemployment insurance—society can nowadays guarantee to every willing worker, in all the contingencies of life, an unbroken sufficiency of the means of healthful existence. By the public appropriation (as by income tax and death duties) of the surplus continually arising in production above the "national minimum," the nation cannot only develop its material resources without resort to the money lender, but also provide for a continuous improvement of the physical health and of the intellectual, artistic and spiritual faculties of the whole people—achieving, in fact, not only an expansion of individual character, but also an advance in national civilization as yet undreamt of by our millionaires.

It is part of the fundamental principles of the Labor Party that this process of transcending the struggle for life cannot be successfully carried out otherwise than step by step, or without the willing consent and active participation of the whole body of citizens. For Great Britain, at least, the Labor Party puts its faith in orderly and constitutional reform, under the Parliamentary system. It is in this



respect that it differs most markedly from the "Communism" of Soviet Russia, with which it has refused to have any connection. But the Labor Party has no aspiration to be a single, centralized governmental administration of things and people. Human life has many aspects. We are all consumers of myriads of things; while we are, or ought to be, all producers of particular commodities or services. We have intellectual, artistic, and spiritual aspirations of even greater importance than material production. We have tastes and interests in common with this group or that. Hence the Socialist Commonwealth aimed at by the Labor Party is not one homogeneous, bureaucratic "democracy, even if universal," imposing ruthlessly on all minorities what it calls the "General Will"; but an ever-shifting hierarchy of differently constituted democracies for different purposes; partly central and partly local; some voluntary, some compulsory; some of consumers, others of producers; associated sometimes

on the basis of geographical neighborhood and sometimes on that of a community of intellectual, artistic or spiritual aims. It is by this high evolution of the social organism that the individual achieves the greatest freedom of self-expression. It is in the widest possible sharing out of self-government that we find universal participation in power and consciousness of consent, without which there can be no genuine democracy.

But we can no more change society merely by wishing for its regeneration than, without engineering science, we could build a bridge. The Labor Party therefore insists on the need for an organized science of society, on a perpetual re-investigation of the facts of social life and on the continuous advancement of economic and political science, which it is always the instinct of the reactionary to oppose. This faith in science is actually involved in the substitution of co-operation for competition. Where our forefathers saw a jostling crowd of individual competitors, each instinctively pursuing his desire for riches in his own way, fighting for his own hand with no more "science" than his intuitive appreciation of the "smell of the market," the Labor Party forecasts a highly organized, far-reaching and patiently pursued communal enterprise. Every kind of co-operation among men requires a coherent plan which can be explained to the participants, and which will, in its working, be practicable at a given place at a given time. And this science will, it is plain, be continually expanding, and its application, no less than the changing circumstances of the world, will demand perpetual changes in social organization, leading, in every decade, to an enlargement of mental vision, a new orientation of social aims, and the "scrapping" of obsolete structure at a rate of which this stagnant world of property owners is incapable. The last thing of which the British Labor Party can be accused is that of projecting a rigid and unchanging Utopian State.

The Labor Party realizes that its fundamental principles are as applicable, in substance, to the relations between nations as to the relations between the citizens of each nation. The doctrine that war is a



International

PHILIP SNOWDEN

Member of the British House of Commons and leading exponent of Socialism. During the war he took a strong stand as a pacifist

"biological necessity," beneficial to humanity, the Labor Party regards as at once demonstrably unscientific and profoundly immoral; it believes that it is now as possible to transcend the "struggle for life" between races as it is between individuals and to raise the relations between States to a higher plane. The Labor Party, while desiring to maintain the British Commonwealth of Nations, is in revolt against the inequality of circumstances which enables one nation to exploit another and to deny to the members of any subject race the consciousness of consent and participation in power. It does not see, as between the various races of humanity, that all the superiorities are heaped up on the peoples of any one blood or color or religion, and all the inferiorities on those of others. On the contrary, nearly every people has something of its own in which it is superior even to the most conquering of races; and our proper attitude is that of a modest recognition of reciprocal superiorities. The Labor Party affirms the right of each people to live out its own life. But this is only possible when the principle of the brotherhood of man is embodied in some sort of League of Nations or supernational authority which shall maintain the rule of public right against all international aggression and work out (and be perpetually improving) the necessary body of international regulations for the mutual intercourse of sovereign nations and their several citizens. Here, again, as within the nation or State, law is the mother of freedom.

Both honest inquirers as to what the Labor Party means and less honest opponents of its activities are sometimes perplexed by the Labor Party proclaiming, on the one hand, its principles and, on the other, its program of reforms; at one moment expounding what seems a religious faith and at another employing successfully the most ingenious political strategy and parliamentary tactics. When the Labor Party preaches Socialism it is told that "this is not practical"; when it talks in terms of legislative reforms it is objected that "this is not Socialism"; and when it wins elections and outmanoeuvres the Cabinet in the House of Commons it



BEATRICE WEBB

Wife of Sidney Webb, with whom she has collaborated in the writing of many important books and reports. Before her marriage, when she was Miss Potter, she had already distinguished herself in social research work, and, like her husband, has served on royal commissions and other official bodies.

reduces its enemies to inarticulate fury. But the children of light may quite lawfully acquire and employ all the wisdom of the children of this world. The Labor Party is, in Great Britain, putting the older political parties to bed in the sleep of obsolescence just because it has both a faith and a practical program, both religion and skill in electioneering; just because it is equipped not only with principles and a creed, but also with both history and economics, with a knowledge both of law and of administration, with regularly drafted bills for legislative reforms and practical schemes for administrative improvements—has it not been mentioned that any number of civil servants are, and have long been, unobtrusively in its ranks?—the Labor Party has increased its parliamentary strength from 1 in 1892 to 6 in 1903, to 29 in 1906, to 40 in 1910, to 61 in 1918 and to 144 in 1923. No other political party in Great Britain has ever shown a similarly steady growth.

# MUSSOLINI ACQUITTED OF DESPOTISM

By DR. A. L. FROTHINGHAM

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*Results of Mussolini's seven months of dictatorship over the Italian Nation—Best Italian opinion considers him as Italy's savior, a liberator and not an oppressor—No advocate of violence or spoils system—Drastic economies and new legislation needed*

IT is now over seven months since Mussolini has been Italy's recognized and undisputed dictator. He will remain that for five months longer, until November, 1923, when the one year's full power which he obtained in November, 1922, from the Italian Parliament will end, and a newly elected Parliament will align itself for or against Mussolini and Fascism and decide who is to govern Italy. Parliamentary government will then be resumed. All good Italians hope that whatever party wins, this new Parliamentary régime will not be the old corrupt, venal, inefficient and impotent affair that it had been for many years.

Mussolini and his lieutenants frankly explained the reason for not holding new elections any sooner. The explanation was that a year would be absolutely necessary to show whether the Fascist reforms could be successfully carried out. Mussolini felt that he did not want the approval of the nation for theories or programs but for facts and results. He hates talk. A year was little enough time to let him show Italy whether his attempt to reconstruct the country from top to bottom was based upon false or upon true principles. If he was to be able to make this demonstration he needed full powers. He asked for them from King and Parliament and he got them. It was, of course,

a revolution; but any one who calls it a bloody revolution is either ignorant or mendacious. The great Fascist march from Naples to Rome and the assumption of power was a joyful parade. The few disorders that occurred elsewhere at about that time were the usual Communist-Fascist flurries.

And what is the result of this march and this revolution on the mind of the Italian people? I have lived in Italy at different times for over twenty years and I may be believed when I say that the Italian people, as a whole, have not been so happy, so light-hearted, so confident, so hard-working as they are now, in all the years I have known them. For them Mussolini is the one savior of their liberties, the one reorganizer of their present, the one guarantor of their future. This is the belief, not only of the members of the Fascist Party; it has been expressed to me by members of the Catholic Popular Party, by Conservatives and Liberals, by writers and business men, who are not essentially party politicians but just keen observers. They all feel confident that Mussolini will continue to receive support that will keep him in power until he has cleaned up politics, balanced the budget and put Italian industry and agriculture on its feet. No party is anxious for Mussolini's job until the tremendous efforts that are needed



shall have performed the miracle of a balanced budget. Before Fascismo's advent the financial situation was getting more hopeless every year, until the annual deficit had reached a total exceeding 8,000,000,000 lire.

#### NO ANALOGY WITH SOVIETISM

The hosts of Mussolini's enemies are increasing every day by the tens of thousands of inefficient or unnecessary employes he is discharging, and who will probably vote against him in the November elections. He disdains all the usual appeals for votes based on any Government policies that are not for the good of the people. He even risks the disaffection of a large section of his own party if it follows a policy he considers dangerous. This was the case when he resigned from the party after certain Fascist groups had committed acts of violence. He admits the use of violence only when absolutely necessary to a great end, as was the case in 1920, when two days of Fascist violence all over Italy freed the country from Communist oppression and from their threats to overthrow the King and Parliament. It is both ignorant and silly for people in our country to compare Fascism to Sovietism, and to bracket Black Shirts and Red Shirts. Mussolini will appeal to the people's verdict. Lenin has repeatedly declared that he and his will never have an election; they know that they would have a disgracefully small support in a free democratic verdict.

In another and fundamental matter Fascism and Sovietism are at swords' points. It is in the matter of religion. Mussolini aims to make of Italy an ethical instead of a merely legal State. Ethics are based on religion. Italy, therefore, which created Western Christianity and is bound up in it, must be reorganized on Christian religious principles. This is no theory. It is being turned into a reality with almost vertiginous rapidity. Italian men by the thousands are reading religious books. While I was in Italy in April a religious congress was sitting in Naples—a congress not organized by the Catholic Church, but by laymen. Remembering the old days when hardly a man among the thinking class went to church, this seemed to me the strangest of all recent

changes in Italy, where men have always been notorious for leaving churchgoing to their women. The extraordinary vogue of Papini's "Life of Christ" is merely a symptom.

The next most important element in the Fascist program is the devotion to labor, with all that that entails: the unification of all the elements of production, workers by hand, workers by brain, experts and technicians, givers and controllers of labor. It is, perhaps, not very well understood in this country how the new syndical co-operatives are working in Italy under committees formed of representatives of all these elements. The result of this unification and co-operation, and of the enthusiasm for labor that has spread from Mussolini throughout the country, has been to abolish strikes. There has not been a single strike of any importance in Italy since Mussolini came into power. The accusation that this is due to fear is an absurdity.

The anecdote which Ivy Lee has given of Mussolini's interview with the head of one of the largest garages in Rome shows that no compulsion is exercised. Lee describes this episode as follows:

"When the owner of one of the largest garages in Rome dropped in to pay his respects the people's leader said to him, in effect:

"Joseph, I hear the taxi drivers are talking of a strike. Now, that isn't right, you know, here in the middle of the season, with Rome full of tourists. They'll give us a bad name before the world. Tell them I haven't stood for a strike since I took charge of things. Attend to it, will you, Joseph?"

#### EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR LABOR

No new laws against strikes have been passed. Only the old laws have been applied. The rest has been left to the feeling of national patriotism, which understands that the reconstruction of Italy depends upon hard work and on the co-operation of all classes.

On Feb. 25 Mussolini addressed all the secretaries of the Roman syndical corporations and expressed very clearly his policy in regard to labor, especially organized labor. He said:





BENITO MUSSOLINI  
Prime Minister of Italy

The Fascist Government intends to keep in the closest contact and daily relations with that select class of workers that have gathered within the syndical corporations. I have the clearest impression that the working classes follow with sympathy and confidence the Fascist Government, because it interests itself seriously in their condition. I confirm the news that in the next councils of the Ministry a project of law for an eight-hour day will be discussed and agreed upon, and that other important legislation will be passed in favor of the working classes in the next few days. The Government asks the workmen, the technical experts and the providers of labor to exercise discipline, calm and concord. Those who work, more than any others, must be interested in the work of national reconstruction which the Government is following with the most inflexible tenacity. I feel myself to be the brother of all those who work, and the bitterest enemy of all para-

sites. Long live the Fascist corporations, long live working Italy, long live the country!

This eight-hour law was passed and is being carried out. But the example of Mussolini's tremendous capacity and the length of his working day, which is considerably over twelve hours, has stimulated the idea of work in the Italian mind to such an extent that everywhere we see signs of voluntary working overtime for the sake of the nation.

#### NEW SPIRIT IN ITALY

The new spirit that has sprung up in Italy has been attested by Paul D. Cravath, the American lawyer, who was in Rome while I was there, and whose impressions are almost exactly the same as mine. He says:

I soon came to realize how little we Americans have appreciated the far-reaching character of the crisis through which Italy has passed. At the time of my visit last Spring, Italy was suffering acutely from the depression and lassitude which were universal in Continental Europe. At that time one met on every hand the feeling that the burdens imposed by the war were too heavy to be borne, and that the future was full of discouragement and danger. There was an alarming lack of confidence in the Government, which seemed to be increasingly impotent in dealing with the forces of organized disorder. The signs were most disquieting, although a casual visitor could not realize how near the brink of anarchy the Italian Nation then was.

This Spring the most casual observer can see and feel the profound change that a year has wrought. One feels it in the air and sees it in the faces of the crowds in the streets. People walk with a quicker step. There is more respect for law and order. The men and women one meets look to the future with hope and confidence. On every hand there are signs of a grim determination to overcome obstacles and achieve

success. A feeling of intense nationalism and patriotism has entered the soul of the youth of Italy. It is this spiritual quality in the change that had taken place that impressed me most. The Italian Nation has undergone a spiritual regeneration rather than a political revolution.

This spiritual regeneration is what makes me feel most strongly that Fascism is no ephemeral movement in Italy, but the basis for a permanent and wonderful change that may spread to the rest of Europe.

The same impression was brought back by Major Gen. John Chamberlain, who was Inspector General of the United States Army during the war. In his interview in *The New York Times* of May 31 he says: "Conditions are steadily improving in Italy. Mussolini has proved himself to be a great leader. He has converted Italy from a country of anarchy to a country in which I found people were contented and more hopeful than in any country on the Continent. The people of all classes are behind Mussolini, and there exists today in Italy the greatest feeling of optimism, whereas two years ago there was complete depression."

#### GOVERNMENT SERVICES REDUCED

The next great problem was to begin to carry out the scheme of intense economy in all Government departments through the drastic reduction of personnel without increasing tremendously the number of unemployed. As Mussolini was inexorably opposed to any increase in taxation that should discourage business and disastrously affect the economic reconstruction, he found it necessary to run the risk of increasing the army of the unoccupied by effecting economies in the railroads, telephones, telegraphs and other Government services and bureaus. In order to create a really national policy in this economic field, the old Superior Council of Labor was replaced by a new Council of National Economy, which had charge of solving the problems that affected not only the working classes but the whole sphere of the productive forces of the nation. Among the first problems were the commercial treaties with other nations, especially the new ones with Spain, Albania and the Baltic States, as well as

the new supplementary agreements with France and Switzerland. Among international schemes was one for the laying of a submarine cable between Italy and South America, of a second cable between Italy and North America and of a third between Italy and Greece.

There has been a careful investigation carried out through every province of Italy in regard to the most necessary public works that would give employment to a large number of workmen, and so counteract the tendency toward unemployment that would necessarily result from the dismissal of so many employes. This plan was carried out under the direction of the Superior Council of Public Works, whose action was facilitated by the abolition of the numerous committees appointed by different Ministers, thus eliminating a useless multiplicity of overlapping investigators. The special extraordinary committee which investigated the Government railroads decided to diminish the personnel from 240,000 to a maximum of 180,000 employes, with a probably still greater diminution in view.

It is a peculiar fact, and one that seems to reflect on the capacity of an Italian to turn himself easily from one occupation to another, that the statistics of unemployment show hardly any increase of idleness throughout the country during the first six months of Fascism, as compared with the last six months of the previous régime. Although unofficial statements have been made that unemployment has reached as high as 700,000, the official figures indicate that only from 350,000 to 360,000 are unemployed.

Very careful statements were made to me on labor conditions by Giuriati, who seems to be practically managing the business of Minister of the Interior, and by Edmondo Rossoni, the head of the Fascist Syndical Corporations, which are considered the backbone of the new labor organization. It must be remembered that the labor unions never amount to much in Italy, and that the Catholic syndical unions are co-operating, more or less willingly, with the new Fascist organizations.

A number of accusations have been made against Mussolini: that he has assumed direct control over the army and the navy; that he has ruthlessly eliminated

officials not belonging to the party; that he has destroyed some of the most enlightened legislation passed since the war; that he has throttled liberty of the press; that he has carried out the spoils system down to the lowest offices; that he has reduced the public schools to inefficiency; that he has inaugurated a policy of violence; that he has destroyed liberty of elections and has proclaimed a policy of vengeance and vandalism.

These accusations, like most of the radical, partisan accusations against constructive, conservative methods, can easily be shown to be false. The two men at the head of the army and the navy are men of extraordinary and well-known power, who would not for a moment think of abdicating their authority. They are General Diaz for the army and Thaon de Revel for the navy. Any one who knows Italian contemporary history knows what those names stand for.

#### INCAPABLES ELIMINATED

The officials that Mussolini has eliminated are simply men who were incapable or unwilling to work, and to carry out the theories of efficiency that were absolutely necessary.

The legislation which he has abrogated has generally been for the purpose of re-establishing individual liberty and ambition in business. The apparent favoring of certain industrial organizations through the repeal of excess profits taxes, which had already depleted the finances of so many of these organizations, was due to the fear that Italian capital would not stay at home, but would seek a foreign outlet to the complete destruction of Italian industry.

In regard to the press, at the beginning of the Fascista victory the attacks on the offices of newspapers that were absolutely disloyal, the Communist and radical Socialist newspapers, was a perfectly natural outbreak. There was absolutely a state of war against legitimate authority throughout Italy which was fostered to a tremendously dangerous extent by this press.

After the temporary suppression due to tacks of the Fascista bands at the time of the August strike and the Facista entrance into Rome, permission to resume publication was given to practically every newspaper that was not absolutely disloyal to the Government of Italy.

It is charged that Fascismo is being turned into a bureaucracy. Mr. Beals says: "Fascismo is robbed of all democratic or autonomous initiative." Let us hope so. If this were not the case, Mr. Beals would condemn it still more for being allowed to act independently of the Government. There is no longer any autonomous Fascismo. It is now the Government; it is Italy. One has only to read the speeches of Mussolini and his lieutenants to know that the accusation of vengeance and vandalism is the emanation of a venomous brain. One instance is typical. Two Fascisti patrolling a village at night came across a wine shop that was open after hours. This was near Mantua. About fifteen people were drinking. These Fascisti notified the carabinieri, who proceeded to close the place. When the men left the place, knowing who had made the request of the carabinieri, some of them, who were Communists, attacked the Fascisti and threw them down and kicked them. One of the Fascisti drew his revolver and fired it in the air, and other Fascisti came to the rescue. This is a typical case of Fascist "violence." The keynote of Fascismo is order, discipline and industry, and all those who attempt to fasten violence and disorder upon it as a habit are simply propagandists and not seekers after truth. What is perfectly true is that Fascism started with the openly proclaimed theory that Communist violence direct toward the overthrow of the State must be met by violence. But all unnecessary violence was frowned upon and considered against orders.

It is still too early to predict results, but one thing is certain: Fascism is promoting individual liberty and ambition, instead of stifling it; it is promoting efficiency and honest work; it is giving back optimism and the will to achieve.

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## FRENCH DESIGNS BLAMED FOR SARRE UNREST

*League of Nations Commission dominated by France—Decree making it criminal to attack the League or the Versailles Treaty—Valuable mines the fundamental cause of conflict—Significance of the strike*

ANNEXATION of the Sarre (Saar) Valley has been repeatedly stated to be an object at which France is aiming, and it is this same ulterior purpose which is given as the underlying cause of the unrest which has been rife of late in that part of the former German Empire. Naturally the embittered relations between France and Germany have transformed this issue, like every other between the two nations, into an acrimonious controversy, upon the merits of which it is difficult to pass judgment. But whatever may be the real, though unavowed, designs of the French Government, the recent attempt to suppress freedom of speech and other civil liberties in the Sarre Valley has met with severe criticism from many independent sources and has roused British opinion in particular to enter a most weighty protest against French methods.

The Sarre Valley is a small but valuable territory lying between Lorraine, which has been restored to France, and the Rhineland, which is also under French control. The population of 700,000 includes 72,000 miners and 40,000 workmen in the metallurgical and other industries. In accordance with the terms of the Versailles Treaty, the French were given the mines of the Sarre for a period of fifteen years as compensation for the mines in Northern France which were wrecked by the Germans during the war. The management of the mines was entrusted to a Governing Commission of the League of Nations, which is responsible for the good government and security of the territory. In 1935 the people of the Sarre are to be called to decide whether they wish to rejoin Germany, to become a part of the French Nation, or to remain under the League of Nations. The French Govern-

ment, it is charged, is doing all in its power to insure that the Sarre will be eventually incorporated with France and is now actually, "under the cloak of the League of Nations," virtually annexing the territory. As evidence of this it is pointed out that the French are setting up their own schools and seeking in many directions to destroy German ideas and influences.

The Governing Commission of the Sarre is presided over by M. Rault, a French Government official, the other members being M. Lambert, a Belgian diplomat, who inevitably supports the French delegate; Count Moltke, a Dane, who is a resident of Paris and a strong French sympathizer; Mr. R. D. Waugh, a Canadian, who takes the British view, and Herr Land, who is supposed to represent the interests of the Sarre population. One of the minor issues in the Sarre controversy has been the selection of Herr Land to serve on the Governing Commission. He is a man of 68 years of age, and it is alleged that he is altogether unsuitable as a German representative, for, on account of his age and incapacity he had previously been refused confirmation by the Governing Commission of his appointment as Landrat of Saarlouis while temporarily holding that position. Nevertheless, M. Rault selected him as the German representative on the resignation of his predecessor, Dr. Hector, because, so the Germans in the Sarre allege, he could be depended upon to vote submissively as M. Rault dictated. The result is that Mr. Waugh, the Canadian representative, finds himself in a minority of one in all matters in which French political purposes are at issue, and that M. Rault is virtually the Governor of the Sarre, who although he is supposed to be primarily responsible to the League of Na-

tions, is in reality (so it is alleged) carrying out solely the policy of the French Government. This is one of the facts which critics point to when they declare that France is working to annex the Sarre "under the cloak of the League of Nations."

#### WAS THE CAUSE OF THE STRIKE POLITICAL?

The most recent phase of the trouble in the Sarre resulted from the French occupation of the Ruhr. When the supply of coal from the Ruhr ceased, the Sarre miners, dissatisfied with their wages, which are considerably less than those earned by the miners in Lorraine, took advantage of the situation to demand higher wages. The demands being refused, the prolonged strike in the Sarre mines followed. As far as the miners themselves were concerned, the purpose of the strike was ostensibly economic. They doubtless wanted better wages. But the French assert that the miners' leaders, actuated by political motives and working in accord with the German Miners' Federation, which contributed to the strike funds, endeavored to prolong the stoppage of work so long as the French occupied the Ruhr. According to impartial observers the strike itself was conducted in a most orderly manner. Nevertheless, the number of French troops in the Sarre was doubled and the local press, said to be subsidized from sources in unoccupied Germany, was accused of stirring up animosity between the German inhabitants and the French soldiers and the 15,000 civilians who are employed in Sarre industries. The specific cause of complaint against the local German newspapers was that they treated in a sensational manner stories of alleged acts of violence and brutality by the French troops in the Ruhr. These were the circumstances in which the Sarre Governing Commission, at the instance of M. Rault, promulgated its much discussed decree of March 7—the decree against the liberty of the press and freedom of speech.

The draconic character of the decree is seen in its principal provisions. Article 2, for example, provides that persons committing any of the offenses mentioned "shall be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years, and,

should the Court so decide, to a fine not exceeding ten thousand francs." The offenses regarded as serious were set out as follows:

If in public or at a meeting, a person casts discredit on the Treaty of the Peace of Versailles; or insults or traduces the League of Nations, its members or the States signatories to the Treaty of the Peace of Versailles or the Governing Commission or its members, organizations or the officials responsible for the conduct of its Administration. \* \* \*

A further provision relating to public meetings was contained in Article 7, as follows:

Meetings, processions and demonstrations may be prohibited when public feeling is so excited that there may be reasonable grounds for apprehending that language of a nature to constitute an offense under Articles 1 and 2 will be used at such demonstrations.

This meant, according to the critics, that if M. Rault thought some one might make a speech criticising any one of the 52 members of the League or any one of the 440 Articles of the Versailles Treaty, then the meeting could be prohibited.

Another article of the decree which was attacked by the critics was No. 6, which provided a special court to punish offenders. The President of the Governing Commission was empowered to select the members of the court annually on the advice of the member of the Governing Commission responsible for the Department of Justice, at this time Count Moltke, the Danish member. In this way M. Rault made certain that the decree of which he was author should be interpreted by Judges who were his own nominees,

#### BRITISH OPPOSITION TO THE DECREE

The decree was adopted at a meeting of the Governing Commission on March 7 by a vote of three to one, with one abstention. The three who voted in favor were the French, Belgian and Danish members; the Canadian voted against it; while Herr Land, the representative of the Sarre inhabitants, refrained from casting a vote. On March 12 the decree went into operation. The British Foreign Office, which received its first intimation on March 27 that the decree had been adopted, decided to have it brought up at the next meeting

of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva in April. This was done by Mr. Wood, the British Education Minister, who presided over that meeting of the Council, but Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish representative on the Council of the League, was mainly responsible for having the matter thoroughly ventilated. The Council came to the conclusion that the Sarre Governing Commission had not exceeded its powers in adopting the decree and that, inasmuch as the decree did not introduce any modification into the existing law, the provision in the Versailles Treaty for submitting it to the elected representatives of the people did not apply.

This decision was largely influenced by M. Rault, who told the Council of the League that the decree had been approved in principle by the Study Committee, the members of which, he had explained in an official document, were chosen from various parts of the territory and from among the various political parties. But the Study Committee on May 3 reported on the decree in the following terms:

In the Reich, for the protection of the existing Constitution against the danger of overthrow, exceptional legislation was considered necessary. Such a danger does not exist for the régime instituted in the Sarre territory. A special law is not therefore necessary. The prescriptions of the civil code in force are absolutely sufficient for the maintenance of order and security. The population of the Sarre has ever been quiet and prudent. The conduct, during the present strike, of the working miners, which imposes extraordinary hardships on the population, proves that the Sarre population still have some restraint.

The only earnest wish of the Sarre territory is to work peacefully, to earn its daily bread. The whole population is persuaded that the decree is superfluous and injurious. The mental attitude of the population will in no way be changed by such a decree, but fortified. Its effect can therefore only be to aggravate existing antagonism. The Study Committee urgently begs the Governing Commission to withdraw the emergency decree and not to issue another such decree even in a milder form.

#### DISPUTE OVER PEACEFUL PICKETING

Another sore point has been the question of picketing rights during the strike. When M. Rault was asked by the Council of the League of Nations whether he would withdraw the decree already mentioned, he

said it would depend upon the general situation, and hinted that even more severe measures would have to be adopted. What he meant by this was seen early in May when he caused the Governing Commission to issue a decree against peaceful picketing. This decree was divided into two sections. The first section revived in the Sarre territory section 153 of the Code of Arts and Crafts (*Gewerbeordnung*) which the German Government abrogated in May, 1918. This article provided severe penalties for attempts by violence, threats, insults, slander, or boycott to deprive a workman of his freedom to work. No one in the Sarre Valley, it was stated, objected to the repression of violent interference with the liberty of the workman to dispose of his labor. But the textual revival and application to their territory of a law abolished in Germany was highly offensive to the national sentiment of the German people in the Sarre. The second part of the decree was directed against peaceful picketing, which is legal in England, Germany, America, and most parts of the civilized world. M. Rault contended that what was called "peaceful picketing" in the Sarre mining district was something very different from peaceful picketing in England because the number of the pickets was so large and the picket posts so highly organized that no workman had the moral courage to pass them. It was, he argued, the duty of the Governing Commission to meet this régime of terror with appropriate measures. Although pickets were arrested under the decree, it was found impossible to secure a conviction. Nevertheless, M. Rault declared that he would never permit the French troops to be used to break the strike. But while the strike was a weapon in the hands of the workers, he held the view that it must not be used as a political weapon which might be employed against the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

It was this state of affairs in the Sarre that led to the important debate in the House of Commons on May 10 when representatives of all parties united in condemning the methods of the Governing Commission. The British Government went further in demanding that the Council



of the League of Nations investigate the Sarre Administration. This led to an acute difference with the French Government, but eventually Great Britain agreed to withdraw the request for an inquiry on condition that the decrees which had caused so much trouble be modified and, as soon as possible, rescinded. In consequence of this compromise and of the gradual return to work of the miners who had been on strike, greater tranquillity began to prevail in the Sarre Valley.

There are some who still believe that France has her definite designs upon the territory inasmuch as she is interested in retaining the mines which are of immense importance to the metallurgical industries of the neighboring province of Lorraine. Since the German industrialists are equally anxious to recover the territory and regain possession of the mines, and for this reason are seeking by every means to thwart French control, the fundamental causes of conflict remain.

## THE CHURCH IN GREECE UNDER NEW LEADERSHIP

By S. S. PAPADAKIS

A Greek publicist and special correspondent at Athens

*Turning point in the History of the Church in Greece seen in the recent election of Dr. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos as Metropolitan at Athens--Reorganization and Modernization of the Church the new Prelate's chief aims*

**R**ARELY has the consecration of a Metropolitan of Athens been held with such splendor as that which attended the election of His Holiness, the Metropolitan of Athens, Dr. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, on March 10, 1923, and never has the significance of an election to the Metropolitan See at Athens been more pronounced.

For the last five years political dissensions in Greece had created innumerable troubles for the Orthodox Church of Greece, which had lessened the prestige of the Church. Every political change caused a change in leadership, according to the political conceptions of the party in power. That is why the election of a scholar of the calibre and standing of Dr. Papadopoulos has been greeted by all the Greek people as the turning point in the history and the policy of the Church of Greece.

His Holiness was born in 1868. He

studied theology in Constantinople, Jerusalem and Athens. Later he followed special theological studies in Russia, where for four consecutive years he attended the famous seminaries of Kiev and Petrograd. In 1895 he was appointed Professor of Divinity and later president of the Great Orthodox "Seminary of the Cross" at Jerusalem, where he served for fifteen years. While in this office, he was ordained into the Greek priesthood in 1900.

In 1910, the University of Athens conferred upon him the honorary degree of D. D., "for having written many and important theological works." In 1911, he was elected President of the Rizareos Seminary of Athens and, in 1914, he was appointed also professor of general ecclesiastical history in the School of Divinity in the University of Athens.

The official inauguration was held in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Athens, and in all the splendor of Byzantine ceremony.

In the presence of the Greek Premier and Ministers, of the Ambassadors of Serbia, Rumania and Russia, and the other officials in Athens. Dr. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos was consecrated by three Bishops, according to the requirements of the laws of the Church. The eldest of these Bishops, the Most Reverend Bishop of Syria, crowning him, said: "By the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit you are consecrated Metropolitan of the faithful See of Athens, voted and approved by the Most Reverend Metropolitans, who form the Holy Synod of Greece, and you are called now to glorify this Holy See." Amid cries of "Axios! Axios!" ("Worthy! Worthy!") raised by the clergy and the congregation, the new Metropolitan mounted the throne and read his "throne speech," in which he drew the general lines of his policy. These points may be summarized as follows:

1. Reorganization of the administration of the Church of Greece and its emancipation from State interference in church affairs;
2. Amelioration and raising of the standards of the Greek clergy according to the best standards attained in European and American churches;
3. Modernization of the Church, which must be not only a congregation for prayers, but a force to co-ordinate and serve men in all phases of their life activities;
4. Closer communion, under the leadership of the Patriarchate at Constantinople, of all the Orthodox Churches (of Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt) now forming a large confederation whose ties have been somewhat loose owing to political and war conditions in Eastern Europe and the Near East;
5. Establishment of friendly co-operation between all the Christian Churches throughout the world. His Holiness cherishes the conviction that, instead of the difficult pursuit of dogmatic unity among the different Christian Churches of the world, we must strive for "a union in Christ's love," which will pave the way toward a world-wide confederation. He believes that it is high time for Christendom to cling together for common defense, not only against Mohammedanism,

the formidable team play of whose 400,000,000 followers has caused and may still cause so much bloodshed in Asia and the Near East, but also against the fall of the standards of morals throughout the world, a fall attested especially after the great war. All the Churches must join hands against any enemy powers that endeavor to destroy the civilization of Christ.

After the ceremony his Holiness received me in the Metropolitan Palace and through me sent the following message to the churches of America: "I admire the wonderful spirit of the American people and their leaders, most of whom I had the pleasure of meeting personally while in the United States. I look forward to a closer co-operation of the Orthodox Churches with the Christian Churches of America. I wish to pay my heartiest tribute of honor and deep gratitude to the American Churches and to the American nation for their great humanitarian spirit displayed in the relief of the refugees from Asia Minor."

The election was welcomed favorably not only in Greece, but also among all the Christian Churches of the world, as his Holiness is known by the leaders and theologians of the European and American Churches for his broad vision and his fostering of a confederated interchurch movement. He has attended many international and interchurch conventions and was elected one of the executives of the Faith and Order International Committee. His Holiness since 1920 has been the Chairman of the Greek Committee of the "World's Alliance for Promotion of International Friendship and Good-Will Through the Churches."

For all those who are acquainted with the Near East affairs and who know the great influence of the Orthodox Church over its 150,000,000 members, the significance of the new leadership in the Church of Greece is clear. Better days may be confidently presaged for Eastern Christendom.

# THE FRENCH MONARCHISTS OF TODAY

By LOWELL J. RAGATZ

Formerly a member of the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, the author of the following article has been for some time past in France making a special study of political and social affairs. An article by him on the origins and subsequent history of the monarchist movement up to the outbreak of the World War was published in the June issue of this magazine

*Royalist activities in France aided by unfavorable economic conditions since the close of the World War—Organization of the royalist group under the leadership of Leon Daudet and Charles Maurras—A nation-wide movement today*

THE World War has resulted in a second period of growth for the French Monarchist, or Royalist Party. How serious is the new agitation against the republic was emphasized in the official statement made by Maurice Manoury, Minister of the Interior, in the Chamber of Deputies on June 1. The Government, he said, had discovered proofs that royalists throughout France had entered into a conspiracy directed at the existing State. Documents seized by the police revealed the plans of the conspirators and contained lists of members. The Government, M. Manoury declared, would pitilessly suppress any further movement of French "Fascisti." It is important to discover how this new reactionary movement has developed, since the royalists show no signs of desisting from their purposes, but seem rather to be determined to go to the greatest extremes.

The economic consequences of the events falling between the years 1914 and 1923 have been disastrous to France. A 400 per cent. increase in the cost of living has all but extinguished the middle class. Rightly or wrongly, the blame is placed upon the Government. The middle class has, therefore, to a considerable extent, sought relief in supporting the widespread and very energetic activities of the Monarchist Party. This is without doubt the greatest loss yet suffered by the Republic. At every possible opportunity elements disaffected toward the

Government for any reason whatever have been added to the ranks of the royalists. To find room for as large a body of followers as possible within the organization, its program has been considerably expanded. The original objects were restoration of the royal line and the re-establishment of close relations between Church and State. Today the program has been widened to include anti-Socialism, anti-Semitism, anti-Masonry, anti-Communism, and the organization of labor. The principles of the movement today can be gleaned from Daudet's latest book, "Le Stupide XIX. Siècle" ("The Stupid Nineteenth Century"). In this work first appeared the challenge that France must become a monarchy within ten years. This has since become the watchword of the royalists.

Today the monarchist movement is known as the "Action Française," or "French Action" movement. It is nation wide. There is not a corner of the country in which its supporters cannot be found. Its affairs are directed from a central bureau in the Rue de Rome, Paris. Appeal is made to all classes, including both sexes and all ages. Thus, unlike the old royalist movement, it has a broad appeal. Its most important organ is L'Action Française, the paper of Léon Daudet (son of Alphonse Daudet, and the foremost leader of French monarchism). Edited by Charles Maurras, it is one of the most influential journals in France.



Every sympathizer with the movement is a subscriber. Eugène Lautier, writing in the radical journal *L'Homme Libre* on June 7, 1922, acknowledges sadly that "the most read paper in France today is *L'Action Française*." A special weekly edition, the *Sunday Action Française*, is published for circulation in rural districts. Each issue contains a political article by Léon Daudet, a review of the week's events, and agricultural hints.

Following the establishment of the daily, the review of the same name continued as a magazine of opinion to the outbreak of the war and had a large circulation among the intellectuals. It has since been replaced by *La Revue Universelle*, founded in 1920. *L'Eclair*, a daily published at Montpellier, is the principal provincial royalist journal. Neither it nor *La Revue Universelle* are controlled by the *Action Française* group, but both are heartily supported by it.

Numerous books by royalist authors have been published. These works are distributed through the *Action Française* Library and the New National Library. The latter is a private venture under the direction of Georges Valois, but is a royalist institution.

The *Action Française* Institute, an organization for the study of political, social and religious questions in Paris, was founded in 1906. Public courses on such subjects as "The States of Ancient France," "Problems of the Day," and "The Royal Monuments of Paris" are given in a lecture hall in the Latin Quarter.

Propaganda work is carried on by a committee presided over by Maurras. Use is made of both the press and the lecture platform. Series of public addresses are arranged and held in the various arrondissements of the capital and in the provinces. Millions of pamphlets are regularly distributed, chiefly on street corners, at political meetings of all kinds, and in front of Catholic Churches on Sundays. Sample copies of the daily *Action Française* are scattered widely. Poster campaigns are carried on periodically. A typical octavo sheet reads: "A country has but one dynasty, the one which unified it. The family which made

France during ten centuries still exists. Long live the King! Long live Philip VIII., the heir of the forty kings who made France!" Another important function of the propaganda branch of the movement is the securing of funds.

#### COALITION OF SIX SOCIETIES

Six societies band together the royalist supporters. These are: *La Ligue d'Action Française*, *L'Alliance d'Action Française*, *Les Camelots du Roi et Commissaires*, *La Federation Nationale des Etudiants d'Action Française*, *L'Association des Dames Royalistes d'Action Française* and *L'Association des Jeunes Filles Royalistes*. (The *Action Française* League; The *Action Française* Alliance; the *Camelots du Roi* and *Commissaries*; The *National Federation of Action Française* Students; The *Association of Action Française* Royalist Ladies; the *Association of Royalist Girls*).

Of these the *Action Française* League is the oldest and strongest. It was founded in 1905 under the Presidency of Henri Vaugeois. The President today is Lieut. Col. Bernard de Vesins. Its organization covers France. The country is divided into ten regional sections, each under a secretary. Sixteen branches are found in Paris and seventy-nine in the provinces. Each has its own clubrooms, where weekly reunions are held. All have libraries, and special lectures are delivered in the auditoriums on frequent occasions. The society is open to men of all social conditions, and provides a common meeting-ground for recreation and the study of current problems. Its object is to propagate "integral nationalism."

Members sign a declaration reading: "I promise to combat the republican régime. The republic in France is the reign of the foreigner. The republican spirit has disorganized the national defense and favored religious influences hostile to the traditional Catholicism. It is necessary to give France a régime which is truly French. Our sole future, then, is monarchy, as personified by the Duke of Orleans, the heir of forty kings who in 1,000 years made France. Monarchy alone assures the public welfare and, securing public order, prevents public evils which

anti-Semitism and nationalism denounce. Monarchy, the necessary organ of the general interest, restores authority, liberty, prosperity and honor. I associate myself with the work of the monarchist restoration. I promise to serve it in every way possible." Annual dues range from 5 to 50 francs, according to the means of the individual. The membership list is secret, but it is known to be an enormous one.

The Action Française Alliance is an organization of men and women in sympathy with the restoration but who do not wish to sign a pledge. The dues are the same as for membership in the League, and the same club rooms are used. To all intents and purposes, therefore, members of the alliance are associate members of the former group.

The Camelots du Roi and Commissaries is an organization of a military nature, appealing to young men. Maxime Real del Sarte is the President. The terms of membership are secret. Practically speaking, a troop of the Camelots is found in every region where a branch of the league is located. On holidays the members participate in parades, marching as bodies in military formation. Similarly they form escorts for royalist orators wherever conferences are held and march in the funeral processions of royalist sympathizers. An important part of their duties is to sell copies of the Action Française before all the Catholic churches of France on Sunday mornings. At times they appear in groups to heckle Socialist orators, and on one occasion, at least, one company destroyed the printing plant of a radical newspaper in Paris.

The National Federation of Action Française Students is an organization for university and lycée students. Local branches are established in every faculty at the University of Paris, in every provincial university, in schools such as L'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques at Paris, and in the larger lycées. Students are the usual speakers, but lectures by nationally known royalists are not infrequent. The meetings in Paris are presided over by Charles Maurras or Georges Valois.

It is in this organization that the majority of young converts to the cause are made, and few university students fail to

be influenced by it. There is a common saying in France: "Our generation of students is wholly monarchist." This is, of course, an exaggeration, but it contains a very important element of truth, and the cause can be found in the work of the National Federation.

The Association of Action Française Royalist Ladies has no direct political significance, as the right of franchise has not yet been extended to women in France. It is in the nature of a ladies' auxiliary to the League and the Camelots. The Marquise de MacMahon, member of one of the most distinguished of the old royalist families, is President.

The Association of Royalist Girls is a feeder of the Association of Royalist Ladies. Groups of girls meet for social and study purposes in Paris and the provinces. An annual sale of fancy work and similar objects made by the members is held in Paris, the proceeds being employed for propaganda.

An employment agency and a bureau of legal advice are maintained in Paris for the free use of all persons who are members of one or more of these societies. A special committee empowered to conduct legislative and social studies considers and reports on proposed laws. This body frequently determines the official attitude of the royalist organizations toward contemporary events.

The latest development in the Action Française movement has been a venture in the realm of organized labor. The General Confederation of Labor, France's leading labor body, is revolutionary syndicalistic in tone. As the monarchist movement is engaged in combating socialism and kindred social doctrines, royalist sympathizers among the working classes have not been welcome in the ranks of the confederation. In 1920, therefore, Georges Valois, Director of the New National Library and famous as a writer on economic questions, and Georges Coquelle, Director of the Sunday Action Française, established the Confederation of French Intelligence and Production, designed to include all royalists who are workers in organized labor groups. Two affiliated organizations for railroad employees—The Transport Federation and the French Rail-

way Syndicate; another for mechanical engineers, and still another for technicians—have thus far been established. Others are now being formed. A weekly newspaper, French Production, under the direction of Valois and the editorship of Coquelle, is the official organ. The Confederation of French Intelligence and Production seems to be fairly well established and to have solved its financial problems. The General Confederation of Labor has so far ignored its existence.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

The royalists have ten representatives in the Senate and thirty in the Chamber, with Deputy Léon Daudet from the Seine as leader. The strongest representation is from the Departments of Vendée in the west, and Hérault and Gard in the southwest. It is not possible to state the exact number of royalist representatives, because, with but few exceptions, royalist candidates have not entered the lists as such but as independents. Their true political shade can be determined only by the support given them by the royalist press and associations. Even Daudet is officially classed as an independent. A notable exception to this rule is the Marquis de la Ferronnays, returned from Vendée as an openly avowed royalist.

The present representation—3.3 per cent. of the Senate and 4.5 per cent. of the Chamber—cannot be taken as being indicative of the strength of the movement. The economic crisis and the trend of political events since the last elections have alienated the members of the late middle class from the Republic, and much of their support has gone to the royalists. It is probable that the Senatorial representation will be but slightly affected by the November elections, as Senators are chosen at two elections, but the royalist strength in the Chamber is certain to be heavily increased at the next election of Deputies. A minimum return of 150 Deputies is being worked for.

The Action Française movement has met little active opposition on the part of the Government, as it stands protected by the exceedingly liberal law of free speech. It has found its greatest opponents in the

republican paper The Young Republic, the Communist organ L'Humanité, and the radical sheet L'Oeuvre (Labor). Verbal battles between the editors of these journals and Daudet and Maurras in the columns of their paper, L'Action Française, are every-day events. The monarchists see a particularly dangerous foe in The Young Republic, whose director, Marc Sagnier, is a faithful Catholic. Groups of the Camelots du Roi invariably appear at public addresses given by Sagnier to heckle him and, if possible, to break up the meetings.

Following the lead of L'Action Française, The Young Republic is now sold before Catholic Churches on Sunday mornings. It is no infrequent occurrence for a body of the Camelots to appear, seize the available stock of The Young Republic from the vendors, and burn them in the gutter. The hatred between Daudet and Gustave Téry, editor of L'Oeuvre, is largely personal, and has become one of the most celebrated in France.

The struggle between the Action Française and its three journalistic opponents reached a climax Jan. 22 of this year, when Marius Plateau, Secretary both of the League and of the Camelots, was assassinated in the Action Française office by Germaine Berton, a twenty-year-old anarchist. According to her confession, she had trailed Daudet for two days, but had not been able to approach him, and had therefore killed Plateau instead. Her alleged motive for the crime was to avenge the death of the socialist leader, Jean Jaurès, assassinated at the opening of the war.

The same evening, the Camelots of Paris assembled, stormed the building occupied by L'Oeuvre, and wrecked the entire plant. The assassination was announced by L'Action Française as one ordered by Germany, and the editors of L'Oeuvre and L'Humanité were accused of "incitement to murder." They replied with the same charge, and Daudet appealed to the Chamber to raise his Parliamentary immunity in order that the case might be aired in court. The request is still pending.

#### NATIONALISTIC AND CATHOLIC

In politics, the royalist group is an extremely nationalistic one. Thus, hearty



support was given the war, and most of its leaders are wearers of the *croix de guerre*. The Duke of Orleans himself requested permission to serve in the French forces as a private. His request was denied, as were his later appeals to the Belgian and British Governments to be allowed to serve in their respective armies. Germany has been the object of French monarchist attack for her failure to meet treaty obligations. The royalists have lauded the occupation of the Ruhr. At the same time, the Republic is assailed at every opportunity for its alleged failure to allow France to play the leading rôle in world affairs which has been hers. Socialism and communism are bitterly denounced.

No chance to make closer the alliance between the movement and the Catholic Church is overlooked. Maurice Pujo was the creator of the Jeanne d'Arc Festival, held in honor of this latest addition to the galaxy of French saints. The statues of Jeanne d'Arc are regularly decorated by the royalists. Following the assassination of Plateau, the statue of Jeanne d'Arc, on the Rue de Rivoli, Paris, was hung with funeral wreaths offered to the memory of the late leader.

The submission of Léon Daudet to the Archbishop of Paris, late in 1922, was an act of the same nature. Certain scenes in a recent novel of his had been denounced as being salacious and sadistic. The matter reached the ears of the Church, and an inquiry was instituted. The upshot was that the offending work was withdrawn from sale, and the destruction of the plates and all unsold copies was announced in a public letter from Daudet to the Archbishop. The submission was commonly taken as being one of Daudet the royalist, desirous of retaining the support of the Church, rather than of Daudet, the man of letters.

#### MOVEMENT STRONGLY FINANCED

Financial support for the Action Française is derived from membership dues in the several royalist societies, subscriptions to publications, free-will offerings at conferences and occasional legacies. It is on a sound financial basis; practically every branch is self-supporting.

The admission of diverse elements has

unquestionably resulted in lowering somewhat the plane of the movement. Its growth has required the establishment of an extensive machinery of organization which could not be kept under the personal direction of the original leaders. Additional ones have been required, and these new guiding spirits have not always been activated by the purity of motive which has uniformly characterized Vaugeois, Maurras, Pujo, Moreau and Daudet.

As the cause has grown popular it has drawn to it adventurous self-seekers who have seen in it an opportunity for the improvement of their individual stations. They are clamoring for a voice in the management of affairs, but thus far Maurras, Pujo, Moreau and Daudet have succeeded in maintaining control.

What is the danger to the Republic in the Action Française movement? It is undeniable that it now embraces a considerable portion of the intelligentsia of France. Professional men, university professors and students in large numbers are its most active supporters. The clergy is solidly behind it, and constant appeals are made to the faithful to join the cause. The new generation of army officers, named since the days of General André, has again been heavily recruited from families traditionally royalist. The extensive attempts which are made to gain the sympathy of the workers are bringing results.

The conclusion cannot be escaped, therefore, that the appearance of a powerful royalist opposition party is imminent. The vogue of the bloc system would give such a group power wholly disproportionate to its size. A complicated machine has been built, and should events of the future lead the Republic into further troubled waters, a monarchist coup engineered by the Action Française is quite within the limit of possibilities. Whether such a step would accomplish the overthrow of the Government is problematical. But no small body of Frenchmen envisages the possibility of success.

[An attempt was made to assassinate Charles Maurras, editor of *L'Action Française*, on May 25. The would-be assassin, a self-confessed anarchist named Georges Taupin, entered the office of Maurras, and finding the Monarchist leader absent, fired several shots in the air, with the explanation that he had come from the anarchists

to warn the directors of the policy of Léon Daudet's paper to mend their ways. He was disarmed and arrested.

Girard Chaput, writing from Paris to the New Republic (issue of May 2), gives some interesting details about the Action Française movement. He denies the charge that "bands of young monarchists swagger through the streets of Paris, 'beating up' innocent passersby, breaking up political meetings and destroying the offices of liberal newspapers," that L'Action Française "now proposes to harry out of the land not only Communists but radicals and liberals of every stripe," and finally that "the French Nation is governed by a Parliamentary majority and a Cabinet who are obedient tools of Léon Daudet." He declares that stories of monarchist violence have

been grossly exaggerated, and ridicules the implication that the royalists have conducted, or are conducting, a form of "White Terror." "If any politician or paper is terrorized by L'Action Française," he says, "it is not by its violent acts, but at the prospect of being held up to ridicule and odium by admittedly the most brilliant newspaper staff in France." Charles Maurras is characterized by M. Chaput as "the greatest living French journalist" who "has renovated the doctrine of monarchy." He adds: "This year more than two-thirds of all the students in Paris actively interested in politics are enrolled with L'Action Française. If L'Action Française has not yet won over the majority of the élite, the latter has completely lost its enthusiasm for the republic."]

## A FRENCH ROYALIST PLOT THAT FAILED

By JONAS LIPPMANN

Mr. Lippmann was formerly editor of the Voice of Alsace-Lorraine and a journalist in Paris. He is now a lecturer for the Board of Education of New York City and a writer on international questions. For his services during the war the French Government conferred on him the decoration of Officer of the Academy

AT the time of the Tonkin expedition in 1881, Henri Rochefort, the brilliant journalist, whom the present generation still remembers, fired this broadside at Jules Ferry, then Minister of Foreign Affairs: "We have no Minister of Foreign Affairs. We only have a minister of affairs that are foreign to him." This "boutade" comes to our mind as we read of the political activities of a handful of Royalists who are the same today as they were under former Administrations, from President Loubet down to the present time. Their principal stock in trade consists of street manifestations, of personal attacks against men in the limelight and of their rallying cry of "Vive le Roi." ("Long live the King.") Only twice since the foundation of the French Republic in 1870 have these boisterous young men who call themselves Les Camelots du Roi ("the King's Peddlers") been a menace to the republican form of Government—the Boulangist agitation and the Dreyfus-affair, both of which events came very near destroying the Third Republic.

Certain important details of the Boulangist adventure have never been published. In view of present futile attempts to undermine the republican institutions of France, it is not untimely to relate how the Government got rid of the agitator

without crowning him with the halo of a martyr. It will be recalled that Boulanger rose from the ranks and became a General. His democratic ways endeared him to the soldiers under his command. He became very popular with the masses and never missed an opportunity to impress the nation with the fact that France had an open wound which must be healed. This reference to Alsace-Lorraine opened for him the doors of the League of Patriots whose President was the well-known soldier-poet Paul Deroulede.

The General's popularity increased daily. He became an idol. Unfortunately the idol was of clay. His partisans saw in him at first a patriotic General, who, while Minister of War compelled Germany to set at liberty the French Commissary of Police Schnaebele, who was lured on German soil by a decoy letter written by the German Chief of Police Gautsch. Schnaebele, as soon as he set foot across the German border, was arrested, handcuffed and put in prison at Metz, charged with being a spy. Boulanger lost no time. He commandeered a special train, inspected the troops on the frontier and ordered a partial mobilization of the Sixth Army Corps. His energetic and genuinely patriotic attitude compelled the Imperial German Government to release Schnaebele.

Boulanger was then at the height of his career. Unfortunately for him, his very success caused his downfall.

Political parties of all colors, Royalists and Bonapartists, swarmed around "the brave General," as Boulanger was called. They monopolized him. He let himself be the willing tool of their aspiration to establish a dictatorship. At this stage, the situation became serious. The Government ordered him to be put on the retired list as a disciplinary measure. Boulanger, blind to the situation, plunged deeper and deeper in the reactionary movement, and by so doing incurred the displeasure of those whom his alleged patriotism had deceived. The Government, represented by Constans, Minister of the Interior, under whose jurisdiction Boulanger was supposed to be, was very much embarrassed.

How to get rid of the General was the problem. Constans solved it in a masterly manner. His private secretary was an admirer of Boulanger; this fact was known to the Minister of the Interior, who took advantage of the situation. One morning, before attending a Cabinet meeting, Con-

stans scribbled the following note: "To the Chief of Police: Arrest Boulanger some time this evening." He left the note on his desk in an apparently careless way. His secretary, as soon as he read it, informed Boulanger that a warrant was out for his arrest.

The General quickly packed his grip and crossed the Franco-Belgian border. He landed at Brussels at about 10 o'clock in the evening. We stood in the South Station (Gare du Midi) at Brussels as his train pulled in. The General was pale and tired. He greeted a few friends, among whom were Alfred Naquet, the Senator, and other lesser lights. We attempted to interview him but without success.

The Boulangist cause was lost. The flight to Belgium had killed it. As for the General, his friends deserted him. Without resources and his political future shattered, he went to the cemetery of Ixelles, a suburb of Brussels, and there committed suicide on the grave of his mistress, Mme. de Bounemain.

The cleverness of M. Constans had saved the Republic.



The Elysée Palace, Paris, the official residence of the President of the French Republic



# KING ALFONSO XIII. OF SPAIN AS MONARCH AND MAN

By ANTHONY CLYNE

The author of the following article is a leading contributor to the Contemporary Review, the London Quarterly Review and many other British periodicals

*Stormy career of one of Europe's youngest and most brilliant monarchs—Delicate in youth, at first controlled by camarilla, he developed a strong and independent personality—Calm and fearless, liberal and devoted to his people, he is beloved by nation*

THE many difficulties against which Spain has been struggling, and still is struggling today, have centred the eyes of the world upon the King who controls the destinies of the nation. To the west lies little Portugal, torn by internal dissension since the establishment of the Portuguese Republic. Spain has her own internal troubles, her own political and social crises, and the Spanish monarchy, though administered by one of the most progressive and liberal monarchs of Europe, faces no easy task in steering the much buffeted Ship of State. King Alfonso's career has been like that of an intrepid and expert navigator, who guides his craft amid changing and treacherous currents; he has weathered the dangers of political influences, conservatism and revolution, and has avoided the whirlpools of reaction and the rocks of anarchy. He is confronted today by radical labor unrest, by a Clerical coalition, by public discontent over the events in Morocco, and he is striving earnestly to solve the momentous problems on which the security and the future of Spain depend. No one can foresee that future, but it is evident that it will be shaped by the mentality and personality of the King. It is, therefore, of public and political interest to study that personality, in connection with the main events of Spanish history within the past decades that have shaped and welded it.

King Alfonso, born on May 17, 1886, has been a King from the day of his birth, his father having died of phthisis in the

previous November. This event caused national consternation, since the succession was left unsettled. There were two daughters. The elder, Maria, 5 years old, was titular Queen of Spain until her brother's birth. The widowed mother, Maria Christina, as Regent, exhibited remarkable strength of character and ability. Determined to safeguard the monarchy and prevent revolution or civil war, she at once convoked a council of Ministers and presided calmly over its deliberations. The courage and devotion of Dona Maria Christina and the birth of Alfonso appealed to the chivalry of the nation, while all the powers of Europe vied with one another in showing sympathy. Although the reckless and disastrous war with America occurred during the Regency, a progressive and conciliatory policy at home secured the loyalty of the mass of the people, rendering the revolutionaries, Socialists or Carlists, impotent.

Alfonso was a delicate child, and his mother cared for him with anxious solicitude. The weakness of his constitution frequently aroused fears that he would not live to attain manhood, or at least would become a permanent invalid. The nation, slowly emerging from the anarchy of the middle of the century, needed above everything, in order to unite the distracted people, a vigorous and popular King around whom the loyal leaders could gather and who would leave an heir, removing the dangerous uncertainty of the succession. The precarious health of the

KING ALFONSO XIII. OF SPAIN



Gilliams

*Born May 17, 1886, after the death of his father, Alfonso XII., the present Spanish monarch succeeded to the throne at birth. He is here shown in the elaborate uniform of Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Army*

child King, however, and his mother's long struggle against heavy odds, touched the hearts of even those most hostile to the monarchy. When he was four years old, Alfonso passed through a critical illness. After his recovery the veteran chief of the Republican party congratulated Queen Christina, declaring that the boy was to him doubly a King, by law and by miracle. Maria Christina sacrificed herself to duty. Except at State functions or religious ceremonies she was rarely seen.

The King scarcely ever appeared in the streets of the city, taking his exercise in the lovely gardens and the Casa de Campo across the river. His natural spirits were not entirely overwhelmed by the solicitude that surrounded him. His love of fun and even an occasional mischievous escapade showed that he remained a very human boy.

The seclusion in which he was kept was not altogether wise. Though his health would have prevented such an upbringing as that of English princes, a greater measure of freedom in his movements among the people would have taught him much. He came of age when he was 16, in 1902, and after being enthroned with all the appanage of ancient ceremonial, assumed control of the Government.

At first he conveyed the impression of haughty despotism. He seemed to be under the thumb of an extremely reactionary clique. The elaborate etiquette of the Court was employed at all State functions to relegate the Ministers to a position of complete obscurity. Prelates and grandees of notorious reactionary prejudices were made much of. Apparently Spain was to be ruled personally by a young and inexperienced King under the influence of the Court camarilla. The elections to the Cortes in the following April showed alarming hostility not only to the Government, but to the dynasty. Yet there is no doubt that all this was due, not to a hopeless attempt to revert to the days of absolutism, but to a training which had left the youthful monarch largely ignorant of actual political conditions, the instrument of an astute coterie who gained his ear by flattery and religious professions. Very soon, however, Alfonso emancipated himself from these unfortunate influences. He began to suspect the advice which was evi-

dently destroying his popularity. Instead of treating his Ministers with contempt, he began to listen to them. He began to look into affairs for himself, refusing to follow blindly the counsels of others. His Ministers, indeed, were frequently disconcerted by his determination to be told the facts, and all the facts.

King Alfonso is fond especially of motoring and yachting, which demand, at least as he practices them, courage and the most rapid and skillful judgment. His Hispania has triumphed at many regattas.

#### A STORMY REIGN

Several times the King has narrowly escaped assassination. When a youth of 19, on a visit to Paris, he was driving with President Loubet from the Opera when a Spaniard threw a bomb. A year afterward, as he was returning from the church after his marriage, an anarchist made a dastardly attack upon the royal pair. Many bystanders and members of the wedding procession were killed or wounded. Seven years later an anarchist shot at the King as he was returning from a military review, succeeding only in wounding his horse. On each occasion the monarch's calm demeanor and presence of mind evoked the greatest admiration.

During his reign he has needed all his courage, all his capacity for quick decision, in dealing with continual political crimes and social problems. His course has been across troubled waters—social unrest, Carlist disaffection, disastrous military adventures, political corruption, administrative inefficiency. More than once, when national affairs have been most perilous, rumors of his abdication have become prevalent. In March, 1923, for example, he had to deny them publicly. He is not a sailor who, when a squall blows up, deserts the ship. He is not a motorist who, when an awkward corner has to be turned, flinches and leaves the steering wheel.

King Alfonso's marriage presented a question of some difficulty. Maria Christina, although herself a Hapsburg, did not wish him to choose among the bevy of eligible Austrian archduchesses, and favored an alliance with the English royal



house. In 1905 Alfonso started upon a tour of European courts. He stayed with his uncle, the Archduke Frederick, at his magnificent estate of Teschen. The family hoped that the charms of their eldest daughter would fascinate him, but he left Austria heart-whole. After visiting Paris, he went to London, where his genial and unaffected manners produced a most favorable impression. Queen Christina's ambition had been discreetly hinted to King Edward VII. and "l'oncle de l'Europe" benevolently contrived opportunities for Alfonso to meet his nieces. He was at once captivated by the fair hair and blue eyes of Princess Ena of Battenberg. He impetuously returned to consult his mother and his Ministers; arrangements were completed, and the delicate matter of the Princess's conversion to the Catholic faith, an indispensable condition, was safely negotiated. In September the formal betrothal took place at Biarritz, and in May, 1906, they were married in Madrid. Queen Victoria Eugénie was welcomed with sincere enthusiasm in Spain, and she brought a ray of happiness into the somewhat gloomy Spanish Court, where normal activities were revived to the delight of Spanish society. In 1907 an heir was born, Alfonso, Prince of the Asturias; there are now four sons and two daughters.

#### MARRIAGE AIDS LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

The marriage confirmed the complete emancipation of the King from reactionary influences. Spain had now a powerful friend in one of the great democracies of Europe, and the tendency toward liberal government was encouraged. Alfonso, with wise statesmanship, fostered friendship with France, tactfully smoothing over friction in Morocco, inspiring a treaty to reconcile the interests of the two

nations, and exchanging visits with President Poincaré. In the World War, his sympathies, like those of the great majority of his subjects, were with the Allies, though he was surrounded by astute pro-German influences. When the allied cause was most desperate and the pro-Germans in Spain were most boastful, he never wavered, commenting with humorous exaggeration, "In Madrid only the canaille and myself are pro-Ally." Scrupulously observant of the rules of neutrality, he was yet able to render valuable services to the Allies by intervening on behalf of prisoners and inspiring efforts to ascertain the fate of those reported "missing." When the armistice came, he could not refrain from showing his sympathies by dispatching, in characteristically impulsive fashion, congratulatory telegrams to all the allied chiefs of state.

As he has gained experience, Alfonso has more and more exerted his power, judging, speaking and acting for himself, yet never in the slightest degree violating



Ewing Galloway

Glimpse of the sunshine and shadow of old Seville, where whole streets in some districts are protected by awnings stretched from roof to roof. Seville is one of the most interesting cities in Spain



Ewing Galloway

Royal Palace at Madrid, where King Alfonso and his family live during the greater part of the year. The poor tenements in the middle distance give a hint of the violent social contrasts which underlie the unrest in Spain

attempts to form a Ministry had failed and the situation became dangerous, he summoned all the ex-Premiers to his study at midnight, and told them in vigorous language that they must compose their differences for the country's sake. They quickly agreed to form a coalition. His courage has often disarmed criticism. He likes to meet his critics face to face. He invited three eminent Republicans—a well-known sociologist, a famous biologist, and an art critic with an international reputation—to meet him in informal consultation, and after the interview they declared themselves convinced that he was earnestly working for the democratization of Spain and the development of liberal institutions. When Don Unamuno, Spain's most influential writer, attacked the King, he was straightway invited to the palace to repeat his charges, that Alfonso might understand them exactly.

From time to time his popularity has been increased by some spontaneous manifestation of interest in his people's welfare. Like his three days' tour on horseback of the desolate region of Las Hurdes last year, when attention had been drawn to the miserable poverty of the inhabitants, inspecting for himself that he might better aid ameliorative measures. When the Premier, Señor Canalejas, was shot dead in the chief plaza of Madrid, while look-

ing at the volumes in a bookseller's window, Alfonso, immediately he heard of the crime, impulsively rushed from the palace, hailed the first carriage he met, and drove to the Home Office, where the body had been taken. On the day of the funeral he walked at the head of the mourners through the streets of Madrid. The outrage excited horror throughout the peninsula, and the King's impetuous indifference to convention in showing sorrow and respect for the murdered statesman deepened his people's affection.

Such, in brief, has been the career of King Alfonso. This tall, slightly built young man, with a ready and broad smile, not handsome, but with features expressive of the candor of his nature, gallant and gay, yet earnest in fulfilling his responsibilities, has an unusual but attractive temperament. He is impetuous and brave almost to recklessness, yet his quick courage has triumphed when sedate caution and convention would have failed. He has shown often the most skillful tact and the most admirable judgment, and has always displayed the most fervent patriotism. That tact, judgment and patriotism were never more needed in Spain than today, when social unrest, economic troubles, labor agitation and military and governmental crises prove anew the adage, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

# FIVE YEARS OF DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

By THOMAS MANN

The author of the following survey of the growth of the democratic idea in Germany, and of its developments since the rise of the German Republic, has long been famous in Germany as the main exponent and fosterer of republican ideals, a fact partly explained by his birth in the old free town of Lübeck, on the North Sea

*The Germans essentially a non-political people—Inward life and State divorced through the centuries—National idea slow in development—New viewpoint brought by World War—Idea of human brotherhood obstructed only by present conditions and by French invasion, which fosters monarchist reaction and Fascism*

THE writer's skeptical modesty, in face of the great international problems, finds itself continually at odds with a vague but impelling and oppressing feeling of responsibility, which is not of the personal kind, but is typical of the German intellectual of today, and of which the natal hour can be determined exactly; it was at the critical time of 1914, at the outbreak of the war. That was the moment when, all problems fused, one realized that henceforth it was impossible to keep strictly apart the spiritual and political sphere and to dwell undisturbed in the ivory tower of estheticism as an individualistic hermit; when one realized the inescapable interlacing of all living spiritual values with the national and political interests; in short, it was the natal hour of democracy for Germany.

In addressing recently certain of our youths and citizens who are still resisting the inward facts, I said: "Whether we like it or not, the State has fallen to us. Into our hands it has been placed, into the hands of each and every one. It has become our affair which we have to attend to; that is the republic; it is nothing else."

But is not the republic, just because of that, also something else, and has it not a further meaning? Does it not mean the ending of a schism from which German life has suffered so long that the German believed himself obliged to accept it as im-

posed by nature and fate? I refer to the separate existence of political and national life. However excellent may appear the arguments which the opponents of the republican principle advance, however inadequate and corrupted that principle may be and may have been in its actually realized forms—as a principle, as an idea, it will prove to be immensely attractive; for that idea is the unity of State and civilization.

There is no greater political thought. In that thought politics ceases to be mere politics; in it it rises to the level of humanism, and here I am touching on a great concept, on a problem which, if my foreboding is right, is in the last analysis at the bottom of all the spiritual and political struggles that are moving the German people at the present time.

Those unsettled conflicts which are conducted with embittered intensity concern an alternative, an antithesis which I may briefly designate as the antithesis of mysticism and ethics. I understand by "mysticism" the absorption in spiritual things; an individualistic "culture-consciousness"; the mind directed toward the cultivation, shaping, deepening and completion of the personality or, speaking in religious terminology, the mind interested in the salvation and justification of one's own life. By "ethics" I understand the mind which, turned to the outward world, conceives as its immediate human duty the judgment,



admonition, shaping, perfection of the world (with which mysticism never wanted to have much to do). I understand by it all that can also be epitomized by the name of "politics," an ethical tendency which is distinguished from spiritual absorption, as the disposition of Saint Ignatius differs from that of Meister Eckhart.

#### THE GERMAN A NON-POLITICAL BEING

It cannot be said that it was only the Reformation which made the German citizen what he has remained for so long a time—the non-political human being par excellence—though it greatly strengthened his conception of his individual cultural mission. The real epoch of the burgher in our history, which followed the ecclesiastical and feudal age, the time of the Hanseatic Union, the time of the cities, was purely a period of cultural tendencies, not a political epoch; the burgher did not take possession of the political inheritances of the knight. One of the consequences of that unpolitical burgher civilization, which was continued in the humanism of our great literary period, was the deepening of the German mind, the growth of German individuality and at the same time the democratization of the idea of personality. That process, however, was entirely restricted to the spiritual world, and the political union of monarchy and middle class, the establishment of the National State, which took place at that time in other countries, was delayed in Germany. Later, in a characteristically German way, this was effected by a great man, the typical great man of German nationality, whose appearance we are accustomed to expect when any great result is to be attained in the objective world and whose non-appearance embarrasses us greatly. That man was Bismarck, and it was his sole creation. But, though Bismarck's work, the National State, logically led to democracy, and even to the republic, Bismarck, the great man who did everything himself, in no way influenced the German middle class to become republican. He found that this people whom he had placed in the saddle "could not ride," and he repeated the final judgment of Frederick the Great, "I am tired of ruling over slaves," in the more extreme

form: "I am tired of driving pigs." This is one of those drastic judgments and trenchant personal conclusions of great men, exaggerations which they are bound to commit because of the tendency toward exaggeration in their own characters. Both Frederick and Bismarck exaggerated, for the German citizen is neither a slave nor a beast, but only a subject and a private individual—the most refined, intellectual, enlightened, spiritually free subject in the world, one must add—even though his unpolitical, inwardly directed turn of mind at the time of Bismarck was no longer called "mysticism" but "business."

The deeper forces of resistance which the republican idea meets with in Germany are thus explained by the fact that the German middle class (which, though economically broken, is still the most influential factor in the nation and has always stamped its character on German civilization and spirituality) has never included the political factor in its idea of culture, and that that element has until now been completely absent from this conception. They are explained, to use our formula again, by the antithesis of "mysticism" and "ethics," and by the fact that the German middle class feels the demand that it should pass from the world of spiritual things to the objective, real world, to politics, to what the Western people call "liberty," to be a demand to belie its own character, as a downright measure of denationalization.

The German citizen has to be told, and he is being told, and he is reaching the point where he can understand it, that he is mistaken; that the antithesis which is fostering the discord between his mental and political world, the antithesis of mysticism and ethics, is wrong and unnecessary, transforming men into lifeless automata; that the idea of humanity comprises both the inward and the outward, the subjective and the objective life, both conscience and deed, and that he defined too hastily his idea of culture and humanism when he did not admit to it the political factor.

That is proved by a German book which our citizen counts among his holy scriptures and which he has never yet understood, if he conceives it to be a justification of his fragmentary and one-sided hu-

manism. I am referring to Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister." That "novel of education," which is regarded by the citizen too exclusively as a monument of pietistic, autobiographical spirituality, is in reality a book of a far more perfect humanism. True, it represents a story of human education, but though in the first part, the "Lehrjahre" (apprentice year), the idea of individualistic self-education is still dominant ("For to train myself just as I now am," says Wilhelm Meister, "was from my youth darkly my desire and intention"), in the second part, the "Wanderjahre," the pedagogical idea is directed outward, toward the objective, the social, the political world, and the centre of the whole is occupied by the severe and beautiful utopia of the "Pedagogical Province."

The essential idea to be derived from that work is that of the organic, infallible homogeneousness of self-revelation and education, of individual and universal education. It is the realization that the self-prevailing and educational impulses are not only bound up together, but are one; that the pedagogical factor, consciously or unconsciously (and better, perhaps, if unconsciously), lives already in the impulse of avowal and self-education, results from it, grows out of it. That book teaches, or rather helps one to realize, that nobody has ever felt the development of his own personality as an ethical, esthetic, cultural obligation, and painfully striven to fulfill that obligation without exercising an educational influence on the outside world of men, without achieving the happiness and dignity of a leader of youth and a molders of men. It is helpful, therefore, to recognize the educational factor as the organic transition from the inner, spiritual world to the outer, objective world; it shows how one grows out of the other in a human way; how in the idea of education, which sprang from that of self-education and self-revelation, the social sphere is reached; how man, stimulated by the social idea, catches sight of the highest stage of human progress of the State; how the problem of the State, the political problem, must therefore be recognized and comprehended as an educational problem, an affair of the inner man, for his perfection, his improvement and his acquisition of

greater wisdom, and how it finds its way back into the personal, life-shaping channel, thus closing the human circle.

#### IDEA OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD REBORN

Thus, some in Germany have again personally experienced the idea of human solidarity, and they are at work to let those participate in it who, on account of their business, have no time for inner experiences of their own. The German citizen, impelled by a hard fate to catch up and continue to learn, is on the point of recognizing that he defined too hastily and prematurely his idea of education, culture and humanity when he excluded from it the political element. He is neither a simpleton nor a villain. It is ridiculous to regard him as a wild Hun, as was done in other countries during the war. He is a national cosmopolitan, extremely well-intentioned toward Europe, who has inherited a naïve yet stronger feeling of responsibility for the fate of this fine continent as a whole than any other national type. He is only slow and loyal. The tempo that suits him is the *andante*, as Wagner said, while his fate has prescribed for him the *molto vivace*. Is it surprising if he has not kept pace with the accelerated measure? It is not to be doubted, however, that the German will overtake his fate. Give him time to arrive at the penetrating perception that the unity of State and civilization which forms the fundamental idea of the republic must be aimed at and striven for, not only by him but by all nations with the utmost human energy, if Europe is not to be brutalized and ruined; further, give him time to recognize that humanity, universal culture, human completeness, is also nothing but the unity of civilization and State and that two things the definition of which is the same must therefore be one and the same thing—in short, let the idea flame up in his mind that the republic, in the ideal sense and apart from imperfect realities, is only the political name of humanity—and he will be a republican.

He would be a republican now, if the circumstances of the times, spiritual as well as material, were less obstructive to the progress of his mental labor. As a matter of fact, the German people are living under

conditions that would excuse all intellectual stagnation and moral slackness, manifestations that show themselves in a limited degree only, in spite of the adverse conditions. Those conditions are not well-known abroad, and they arouse little sympathy. Is it known that 90 per cent. of all Germans are not in a position to eat meat more than once a week; that German mothers are obliged to wrap their children in newspapers, having no linen, which must be furnished to the French troops of occupation on the Rhine by the 10,000 yards? It is expecting too much of humanity's average mental power of resistance to demand of the German that he should resist the propaganda which points out that all things were entirely different during the splendid reign of the Emperor, which consequently will have to return, especially if that propaganda can assert with much plausibility that nothing in the world has changed, that might goes before right, as it always did, that all the talk about peace, justice, a republic of the nations is nothing but silly babble and empty humbug, and that it is a pity and a shame that Germany allowed herself to be hoodwinked by that propagandist humbug to accomplish a revolution, and that the country allows itself to be bamboozled more and more.

#### REACTION THE FAULT OF FRANCE

With a clear conscience the assurance can be given that the desires for a monarchist-militaristic restoration, which seem to be still alive in our country, are doomed to quick decay, since they received no nourishment from within from the spiritual sphere; that they would already have been blown away like sear leaves if unfortunately such nourishment were not furnished them continuously from abroad. The outside pressure weighing upon Germany is terrible and impedes clear and consecutive thought. Apparently our neighboring republic, victorious France, does not find herself for the moment in the most favorable moral state. France seems to have taken it into her head to frustrate the work of all who advocate conciliation in Germany. What France is doing today with her soldiers in the Ruhr district is not good as an enterprise either in whole or in detail; it is, on the con-

trary, entirely bad, and the obtuseness of a world whose moral susceptibility appeared to be so great nine years ago in face of the German violation of rights, and which now looks unmoved upon this evil deed, is calculated to strengthen in Germany every form of cynicism and political pessimism, every philosophy of brutality, and to discourage exactly that kind of German patriotism which is not turned aggressively against other countries, but desires to act as an educator at home.

The present state of France, as represented by the rule of the "bloc national" to the sorrow of her nobler sons, a state which is so dangerous for the growth of good in Germany, reflects, however, only a world condition, and when I mentioned the adverse circumstances of the times under which the process of thought of the individual German has to take place, I was thinking of that general state of the world today. It is a condition of mind and sentiment which may roughly be compared with what obtained after the Napoleonic wars, a disposition tending to atavism and depressing anti-humanism, the most noticeable effects of which are Bolshevism in Russia, Fascism in Italy, reaction in Hungary, the anti-Semitic, national Socialist movement in Bavaria, and certain fixed, black ideas in France.

Traces of this state of mind, more or less distinct, can be shown to exist in all the countries of the civilized world. We reckon Bolshevism among the phenomena of that depression, though its spirit be radical and revolutionary, because whatever else one may think about it and its importance, it is certainly not democracy, not liberty and humanitarianism, but dictatorship and terrorism; and it is just the dictatorial and terroristic tendency that marks the universal movement as a whole.

Its danger for the world in general, and for the German character in particular, lies in the fact that it is not without mind and meaning; that it is based on a true and correct historical sentiment, so that it in no way appears to be a movement of stupidity and brutality, but can boast of drawing to itself many intellectuals. The idea of democracy is tied up with political forms which actually appear to be obsolete. Germany adopts the Western Euro-



pean parliamentarism at a moment when the intellectual prestige of that form of government proves to be shaken everywhere; the country takes it over without enthusiasm, without conviction, for lack of something better. Large numbers of our youth, and of European youth in general, feel that we have arrived at a world crisis, which, though recognized long before by the more sagacious, became universally evident at the outbreak of the war, at the time of that epochal catastrophe by whose still blazing fires men detect the signs of mortal fatigue in the humanitarian idea. That idea appears to the new European generation of which we speak as decrepit and belonging to the past; that generation regards it as the traditional dust-covered instrument of a bankrupt epoch, of the bourgeois epoch now tottering to its grave. That epoch began at the time of the Renaissance, gave itself a political constitution through the French Revolution, found economic expression as capitalism and blundered on to its bloody end in the guise of industrial-militaristic imperialism. That time, the young generation thinks, had its own ideas, bearing such names as humanism, individualism, liberalism, democracy, freedom, personality—worn-out, condemned and antiquated ideas that have demonstrated their own absurdity and are no longer good for anything. That which rises today and is of importance is something entirely different. It is not individualism but community spirit, not freedom but iron discipline, the arbitrary decree, terrorism. The relativism of the past bourgeois epoch was vice itself. What is necessary is the absolute.

There is much actual truth and genuine revolutionary substance in such thoughts of the younger generation, which I have been able to summarize only in the tersest and briefest way. And yet there is here something horrible to the human mind, the unmistakable tendency toward, and danger of, straying into obscurantism. Obscurantism is the danger of all ages which desire the absolute. The danger facing an important part of our young generation, and which is at the same time a danger for the strengthening of the republic in Germany, consists in the fact that these young people

are being driven by ideas that were originally of a genuinely revolutionary character into the arms of political obscurantism, viz., reaction.

However, we do not consider that danger to be a serious menace; we think that it is passing already. The union of intellect and sentimental brutality, the association which for a moment appeared to give rise to a German Fascism, which in default of an amiable gesture would have had an uglier look than the southern variety, is not tenable; on both sides it has been recognized as a misunderstanding; the separation is in progress, and that which is antiquated and inimical to life will wither and fall, forsaken by God and by the human spirit, ejected from the sphere of living thought. Germany, after all, is the country in which men like Goethe and Nietzsche have lived. They were no liberals, those great Germans, but they were, for all that, not exactly obscurantists, and their "absolute" was man.

Especially as regards Nietzsche, certain lyrical elements of his doctrine, his philosophy of might, his overflowing glorification of esthetic grandeur, have given rise to crude misunderstandings at home and abroad, and in the countries which fought against Germany they have even led to the listing of Nietzsche with Treitschke and Bernhardt. \* \* \* What madness! Nietzsche's place is where the spirit of Greece is fused with the lyrical spirit of American democracy, the universal spirit of Walt Whitman. That is the third kingdom of religious humanity, a new idea about man, the concept of human brotherhood, which has in it both pathos and love, and which assures its promulgators (and Nietzsche was its promulgator), the adherence of the youth of the whole world.

That idea is not absolute, it is not bourgeois and does not belong to the past, as some think, or still thought yesterday when they opposed to it some radical or reactionary Fascism as in harmony with the spirit of the age. The republican youth of Germany comprehends that human solidarity is the idea of the future, the idea of which Europe must struggle to attain, for which it must become enthusiastic, and for which it must live, if it is not to suffer death.

# SOVIET RUSSIA'S GRIM BATTLE AGAINST RELIGION

By LOUIS FISCHER

The author of this article is the correspondent in Russia of The New York Evening Post and of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. He is an American by birth. Before the World War he was a school teacher in Philadelphia. During the war he was with the British Army in Palestine. Mr. Fischer, through his official connections in Russia, has had exceptional opportunities to study the vital and momentous question treated by him in this article. His investigations have been facilitated by his speaking knowledge of the language

*Religion mocked and derided by Russian Communists, and Church leaders punished as counter-revolutionists—Campaign against holy relics—Church shorn of social functions and religion forbidden in schools—Church reform one consequence—Religious sentiment weakening, but still showing amazing vitality—Soviet faces a long and difficult battle*

**O**PPPOSITION to religion is a time-honored principle of Russian communism, and forms a plank in the official platform and program of the Soviet Communist Party. "In practice, no less than in theory," says the A B C of Communism by Bucharin and Preobrazhensky, "communism is incompatible with religious faith." It follows, therefore, that "one who, though calling himself a Communist, continues to cling to his religious faith, and in the name of religious commandments infringes the prescriptions of the party, ceases thereby to be a communist." And again, "we have a struggle with the Church as a special organization existing for religious propaganda, materially interested in the maintenance of popular ignorance and religious enslavement."

Incessant propaganda and countless demonstrations are the weapons used by non-Government organs in their struggle with the religion that remains ingrained in the minds of the masses of Russia. Propaganda takes on the negative form of a mockery of the philosophy and forms of religion, as well as the positive form of the preaching of atheism. Demonstrations for the most part fall within the negative category.

Every religious holiday is a red-letter

day for the anti-religious. The Easter and Christmas of the Christians, the Yom Kippur and Passover of the Jews, the Ramadan of the Moslems are invariably the occasions for communist parades, hilarious jollification and the introduction of a spirit that must needs be distasteful to persons who consider these days as days of solemnity, fasting and prayer. It is seldom that these demonstrations take on an actively offensive character, though there have been cases where they have led to blows and bloodshed. Worshippers do not always stand by unmoved when what they consider holy is ridiculed at an open air meeting held simultaneously with the services in a square opposite the church or synagogue. But clericalist opposition to anticlericalist activity since the advent of the Bolsheviki has never been sufficiently general or sufficiently organized to give reason for supposing that any conflict between the two factions can arise in the near future. The persecution of the religious by the atheistic inevitably plants the seed of hatred, but such feelings must remain hidden and unexpressed. The Church is prohibited from taking any steps to counteract, by the written word or at public meetings, the propaganda of the atheists.

Freedom of religious worship, nevertheless, exists in Russia and services are

not interfered with except in isolated instances, as, for instance, in one Ukrainian town where the electric wires of a house of worship were cut during an evening prayer. But mockery and derision are probably as offensive to the pious. In mocking and deriding, the communists have apparently thrown to the winds the precepts of some of their chief apostles, for the A B C of Communism states clearly that "the campaign against the backwardness of the masses in the matter of religion must be conducted with patience and con-

siderateness, as well as with energy and perseverance. The credulous crowd is extremely sensitive to anything that hurts religious feeling. To thrust atheism on the masses, to interfere forcibly with religious practices, and to make mock of the objects of popular reverence, would not assist, but would hinder, the campaign against religion." These words were penned by Bucharin, and yet the League of Communist Youth, of which one might well say Bucharin is the spiritual father, staged an anti-religious Christmas demon-



The Cathedral of St. Basil (also known as the Pokrovsky Cathedral), in the Red Square, Moscow. It is one of the architectural freaks of the world on account of its towers, all differing from each other and representing in their variety of colors pineapples, melons and the like. It was begun in 1554 and was not completed till 1679. Plundered and desecrated by the French in 1812, it was restored in 1839-45.



stration on Jan. 7, 1923, which could not but have been objectionable and offensive to all believers. Thousands of young men and women paraders sang parodies of church hymns; young folk masquerading as priests and rabbis mocked the practices of all religion; there were also cardboard marionettes purporting to represent the gods of Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and so forth. On the evening of that day the effigies of these gods were burned in a great bonfire near a railroad station.

All Communist anti-religious propaganda rests on the premises that religion is a form of idolatry, that the history of religion is a concoction of lies, and that the machinery of the Church is a tool created and maintained by the capitalists in order further to enslave the peasants and workers.

The shield that hangs above the door of the central Moscow office of the Russian Atheist Society represents a worker, still wearing his only recently broken fetters, using a hammer on an idol that might well satisfy the tastes of some East African tribe. Illustrations in the newspaper organ of this society, the *Bezbozhnik*, or "Godless," are similar in nature. Atheistic speakers here are often heard comparing the religion of today with the polytheistic religion of the Greeks and Romans—there is a difference only in the number of the gods, they say. The kissing of ikons in the Russian Church, the reverence of the pictures of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of the many saints and monks, the atheists argue, have no more intrinsic sense and wisdom than the sacrifices of the swarthy Canaanite to his god-image of stone, or of the red Indian to his totem pole.

The story of the birth, life and resurrection of Christ, as the cardinal basis of the Christian religion, has become a target for the onslaughts of the Russian atheists. They have taken the trouble to engage in considerable research and investigation to prove their contention that the story of the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus is a well-known motif in all religions, and that the fundamentals of the Christ story are to be found in the biographies of Zarathustra, God of the

Persians, of the Indian Buddha, of the Chinese Confucius, and of Mohammed. The Christmas number of the *Bezbozhnik* made a point of summarizing the parallelism.

#### A MARXIAN ATHEISM

The essential aim of communistic atheism, however, is neither to prove the fallacy of religious theology nor the falsification of religious history. These are merely weapons in the struggle with a force which is regarded as one of the main supports of the capitalistic oppression of the masses, and of the ignorance and backwardness of Russia's peasant-farmers and factory toilers. The atheism of present-day Russia is a Marxian atheism, basing its principles on the materialistic interpretation of history, and seeing as an ultimate goal the triumph of the working class over capitalism and over the Church, considered as an essential feature of capitalism.

Membership in the Atheist Society is not limited to Communists—all who earn their livelihood without exploiting others may belong—but there is no mistaking the strong anti-capitalist thread that runs through all the actions and statements of the organization. The atheism of the bourgeoisie, as it may express itself in Europe or America, is compared to the pacifism of the bourgeoisie—it never attains the desired goal because it never strikes at the root of the evil, at capitalism.

To the extent that capitalism has been destroyed in Russia, so the ideology of the atheist proceeds, the growth of church influence becomes impossible. To the extent, however, that the superstitions and beliefs inculcated during the past persist in the lower, less educated strata of the population, to that extent anti-religious propaganda is still necessary. It is not enough to prove to the worker that his beliefs are stupid and baseless; it is just as important to show that the institution most interested in the perpetuation of these beliefs is his inveterate enemy—the capitalist form of society.

It is also part of the work of atheist propaganda to convince the worker that the Church itself is capitalistic. "In 1903," Bucharin tells us, "the churches



The Uspensky Cathedral, one of the sacred buildings in the Kremlin, Moscow. It contains the oldest and most venerated holy pictures in Russia, as well as numerous relics of saints. Here the Metropolitans and Patriarchs of the Russian Church and the Czars after Ivan IV, were consecrated. The cathedral was built in 1475-79 by the Bolognese architect Fioraventi, in the Lombardo-Byzantine style, with Indian cupolas. The building has been restored several times after being pillaged or burned

and monasteries of Petrograd owned 266 rent-producing properties in the form of houses, shops, building sites, and so forth. In Moscow they owned 1,054 rent-paying houses, not to mention thirty-two hotels \* \* \* In 1905 the churches owned 1,827,000 desiatins of land, and the monasteries owned 740,000 desiatins." [A desiatin equals 2,69972 English acres.]

During the Czarist régime the Church was for all practical purposes a State institution, receiving an average of 50,000,000 gold rubles annually from the Central Government. According to the Fundamental law of 1906, the Czar was "the supreme defender and protector of the Greek Catholic Church," and a high Government official, very often a General, acted as President of the Holy Synod. Mr. F. A. Mackenzie, author of a recently published volume entitled "Russia Before Dawn," begins his chapter on the Church with these words: "The Russian Church was, even up to 1917, an instru-

ment of the Government. Every village 'pope' [Greek orthodox priest] was in effect a policeman of the Czar." In the days of the Czar, Archbishop Evodkim said, a priest dared not preach against drunkenness, since that might be harmful to the State vodka monopoly.

These facts, combined with others of a similar nature, based on fundamental Marxist principles, are submitted by the Communist atheists to support their contention that the State, the Church and the capitalists in Russia formed a trinity, each member of which was interested in the strengthening and perpetuation of the power of the others. It is understandable, then, that the organized church of Russia inclined toward contributing its influence and resources for the restoration of the Czarist régime, and it was only natural that this tendency should have increased when the Communists began their repressive measures against the Church.

It is in this way that the atheists and

Communists explain the counter-revolutionary tactics of the Greek Catholic Church. Any leading Communist in Soviet Russia will tell you that whatever measures the Soviet Government has undertaken in the recent past against Church dignitaries were aimed against them, not because of their religious affiliations, but rather because of their political views and the translation of these into actions calculated to harm the Government. At least one American Bishop, Dr. John L. Nuelson, formerly of Omaha, Neb., and since 1912 director of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Eastern Europe and Russia, who visited Moscow last October, agreed that this Communist argument was a proper one. The conference of exiled Russian churchmen held some time ago in Karlsberg, and attended by eighteen Bishops, increased the Government's suspicion that the heads of the Russian Church were not only Czarist in spirit, but would be actively anti-revolutionary as soon as the opportunity presented itself. The activity of the plainly monarchistic high Russian Church dignitaries who had emigrated to Constantinople was an additional confirmation of their suspicions. Agents of the Cheka soon discovered, or at least said they had discovered, that the leaders of the Russian Church in Russia were in communication and in league with those who plotted abroad against the Bolshevik régime.

Then it was that the State brought scores of churchmen to trial. In practically all cases the charge was that of being "counter-revolutionary." Archbishop Evdokim of Nizhni-Novgorod himself admitted in a statement to F. A. Mackenzie that "it is not surprising that the Government is suspicious of the Church. During the civil war the heads of the Church worked in open sympathy with the enemies of the republic." The Soviet courts were satisfied that the dignitaries arraigned before them were guilty of serious crimes, and sentenced many of them to heavy punishments. Some were deported, some banished, some shot. Among the latter was Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd, of whom the Bolsheviks made a martyr. The Patriarch Tikhon received more generous treatment, for he is still alive and free, though inactive as far as the Russian

Church is concerned, despite the fact that the Government is alleged to have definite evidence that he plotted its overthrow.

Spitzberg, the President of the Atheist Society, is publishing a book in the near future to substantiate this allegation. He claims to have documents to prove that in 1917 Tikhon distributed a circular in which he advocated the fall of the workers' Government; that he was associated with the Lockhart conspiracy; that he gave his patriarchal blessing to Wrangel, Kolchak and Alexeiev, and that he instructed his flock to resist the confiscation of church treasures. It seems probable, however, that no further steps will be taken against Tikhon.

#### CAMPAIGN AGAINST HOLY RELICS

State action against clergymen is only one way in which the Russian Church has suffered at the hands of the Soviets. The Communist régime had but just commenced when in an effort to destroy the popular belief that the bodies of the saints do not rot and crumble, like those of ordinary mortals, and are therefore capable of supernatural deeds, the Government proceeded to disinter the remains of innumerable persons held sacred by the Russian masses. In many cases the miracle-working mummies of saints and holy men were found to be carefully made and carefully wrapped wax figures. Communists took pictures of these objects, wrote detailed descriptions of them and circulated them throughout the myriad villages of the country.

A curious case occurred in 1919. In 1619 a boy named Gabriel had been found dead in a hamlet near the Polish town of Bialistok. It was alleged that he had been killed by Jews, who wanted Christian blood for ritual purposes. The body, it was said, had been cast into the open field and had lain there for ten days, while dogs guarded it against the attacks of hungry wolves. Gabriel was made a saint. In 1755 the body was removed to a convent in the near-by town of Slutsk. In 1916 it was brought to Moscow and placed in a niche in the great St. Basil's Cathedral. Peasants came from all parts of Russia to see it and worship before it. Men and women laid gifts before it and asked for happiness. The



priest who accompanied visitors always made it a point to state that although originally the body had not been given proper burial it had nevertheless miraculously remained intact through all the centuries. In October, 1919, the coffin was opened by the Bolsheviks in the presence of a professor of anatomy of the Moscow University and of a number of high church dignitaries. It was found to contain only a board on which was fastened the leg bone of some animal. Photographs of the contents of the casket are still to be seen.

These acts were but one line of the Communist attack on the Church. In an effort to strike a more dangerous blow at the power which the Church exercised over the masses, the Government proceeded to withdraw from the Church the elements which contributed most to its influence. Education of the youth of Russia, it decreed, was to be solely a State function. Religion was not to be taught to persons below the age of 18. Furthermore, no church, synagogue or mosque was to engage in other than strictly religious activity. A church, for instance, was not to initiate or participate in any movement for the relief of the starving or homeless.

#### CHURCHES SHORN OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

The situation among the Jews of the Ukraine and of White Russia affords an excellent illustration of this attitude. When the wave of pogroms swept over both of these districts, and when the Ukraine was held in the clutch of almost incessant civil war, American Jews organized to come to the aid of their brethren. On many occasions money has been sent by American organizations of Jews from a particular town in Russia to their townsmen in the old home. These bodies, composed generally of the ordinary petty-bourgeois, religious type, naturally forwarded the money to the rabbi of their Ukrainian birthplace or to some well-known social worker. But the Jewish Communists almost invariably annulled such assignments, forced the rabbi or the particular social worker to transfer the money to them, and disposed of the funds as they saw fit. If they desired to be polite and kind, they admitted the rabbi to their committee, but that was either a mere matter

of form or a sop to the American relatives to send more money.

It is interesting that the Communists made more or less the same kind of disposition of these relief resources as any bourgeois organization might have done. In any given town there is a well-known number of needy persons. Communists and Zionists would be faced with the same task, and would solve it in similar ways. But the fact that it was the Jewish Communists who distributed the relief funds naturally gave them a strong moral position with the community. A ragged woman knew that if she needed a dress, she was to go to the office of the Communist Relief Committee, and not, as she might expect, to the rabbi of the village. The clerical faction of the community ceased to have either power or influence because it had no resources of its own and could get none from abroad.

The case of the Salvation Army is another instance in point. On Nov. 27, 1922, the feeding kitchens maintained by the Salvation Army in Moscow and Petrograd were closed by Government order. The Minister of Internal Affairs at that time explained this action by referring to the Russian law of 1919 (Separation of Church and State) which prohibited religious organizations from participating in charitable activities. The action of the Salvation Army in passing from its religious activity, which it had been permitted to carry on, to relief and child feeding, which it had not been allowed to conduct directly, was considered illegal by the authorities.

The prohibition of the exercise of non-religious functions has withdrawn from church, mosque and synagogue their importance as social and cultural centres. As a result, some churches, even in the villages, where anti-clerical propaganda is bound to penetrate more slowly, have been closed, their crosses lowered, their domes demolished, their holy vessels removed, and the whole converted into a clubhouse, a school, or even a workshop. In the cities the effect has been much more disastrous.

The new Russian bourgeoisie, which lives a rather uncertain existence of speculation and hurried trading, is sufficiently demoralized to raise a feeling of scorn and

disgust in the heart of even the most confirmed anti-Communist observer who watches its ways in café and casino. The rich and the middle class of the large towns live only for the certain pleasures of each day, discounting the uncertainties of the morrow, and the resulting effect in the matter of living is inevitable. A house of worship might, if it radiated the proper spirit, act as a check on the prodigality, profligacy and debauchery of the bourgeoisie, but it is only in rare exceptions that any religious centre has that influence, not because the facts of life give rise to demoralizing tendencies, but also because the Church, when it ceased to be a social institution, became a negligible factor in the daily life of the average person.

The confiscation of Church treasures by the State for the benefit of the famine sufferers, decreed in the Spring of 1922, was not admitted to be a direct anti-religious act. The Soviets at the time needed gold and silver wherewith to cover at least their minimum participation in the feeding of the starving, and the Church representative was rare who raised his voice against the action. In fact, some clergymen of a more liberal trend of mind regarded the sequestration of Church treasures, as well as the nationalization of Church real estate, as likely to have a most salutary effect on the Church, whose inner rottenness was due in a great measure to its riches. The Official Bureau of Statistics states that the sale worth of the valuables taken from the Church amounted approximately to \$5,000,000. It is possible, therefore, that the Russian churches, monasteries and synagogues may still be in possession of the greater part of the movable wealth that was in their hands during the Czarist régime.

#### RELIGION FORBIDDEN IN SCHOOLS

The strength and influence of the Church in Russia has lost another buttress through the proscribing of educational activity. Prior to 1914 there were in Russia 40,000 church schools, with an attendance of 1,500,000, and under the Czars religion was one of the chief subjects studied in all public educational institutions, and was a compulsory item of the

curriculum. Today, needless to state, this has ceased to be. Nevertheless, Communists themselves admit that in many schools throughout the country religion is still taught by those teachers who retained their positions despite the revolution. Furthermore, books of the old type, with references to God, religious beliefs and religious forms and holidays have not been completely destroyed. It is said, in fact, that pictures of Christ, the Virgin and the saints still hang on the walls of a considerable number of old schools which have now been sovietized. But the survival of these remnants is merely the result of a lack of thoroughness due to the vicissitudes of the revolution, and their ultimate removal is inevitable.

The fact that a person up to the age of 18 is not permitted by Soviet law to attend a school where religion or any ancient language pertaining thereto is taught, does not preclude his growing up to be a religious human being, but it does weaken the possibilities. The advent of the Bolsheviks has, furthermore, meant the disappearance of what would parallel American Sunday schools, Bible classes, training circles for choir singing, and so forth.

How have the acts of the Government against the Church and the propaganda of the Communists and atheists against religion affected the Church? Professor Davis, head of the Department of Sociology at Dartmouth College, who visited Russia in the Summer of 1921, replies to this question thus: "It has probably done more to help the Orthodox Church than the active co-operation of the Czar's Government has done in the past fifty years. The persecution has helped to weed out the less consecrated and more corrupt from among the priesthood, and has brought to the front the more earnest of the religious leaders."

This cleansing of the Church from within, together with a natural re-assessment of values that came with the revolution, resulted directly in the introduction of two schisms in the Greek Catholic Church of Russia, which until 1917, had been a strongly centralized organization, intolerant to sects and factions.

Early in the revolutionary period, the "Living Church" was established under

the spiritual leadership of Bishop Krasnitsky of Moscow, the Archbishop Evdokim of Nizhni-Novgorod, and Vedensky, a very able Petrograd priest. The "Living Church" accepts the present political régime, and neither preaches nor works against it. It insists that Bishops be chosen

The Living Church is gradually making great inroads into the territory of its parent institution. It appeals to the in-born love of freedom and equality in the Russian, and is finding many converts, particularly among the poorer classes of the population.



P. &amp; A.

A Communist carnival in Moscow on May Day: The effigy carried on the car represents a "bourjui" (bourgeois) being taken to a place of execution, while the three persons in front are Communists dressed to burlesque a couple of priests and an executioner with his club. It is a cardinal belief of the Communists that the only purpose Churches serve is to uphold the class rule of the capitalists

from the regular clergy, instead of from among the monks, as heretofore. It has revised the liturgy, making it simpler and shorter; the old Slavonic has been replaced by the common Russian tongue. Perhaps the most radical and far-reaching reform which the Living Church has introduced is the abolition of celibacy among monks and nuns. With this has come a diminution of the number of monasteries and convents. In many provinces the clergy have voluntarily transformed the monasteries into co-operative houses, orphan asylums and so forth.

A second schism has already taken place. Under the leadership of Metropolitan Antonin of Moscow, a third Russian Church, the Church of the Resurrection, has been founded. In its eyes the Greek Catholic Mother Church is too conservative and incapable of fitting in with present conditions. The new Living Church, on the other hand, is considered too radical. Antonin's aim is to reform the Church from within; he sees in the Living Church a threat to the solidarity of the Greek Catholic Church of Russia. He anticipates, as do many impartial observ-



ers, the ultimate separation of the Living Church from the Greek Catholic Church, in much the same way as the Protestants left the Roman Catholic fold, and he is striving to forestall the separation. Nevertheless, the Church of the Resurrection, as Antonin stated in a recent public debate with Lunacharsky, the Soviet Commissar of Education, realizes that the Greek Catholic Church must be cleansed and purified from much that is harmful and disastrous to its influence. This, it is believed by some elements, both the Church of the Resurrection and the Living Church are striving to do.

[The result of the All-Russian Church Conclave, which opened in Moscow on April 29, was recorded in the June issue of this magazine.]\*

In neither the Jewish nor the Moslem Church of Russia has any reform movement made itself evident. Abdullah Hasanovitch Shamsutdinof, the head of the Islamic Church in Moscow, explained the lack of change by saying that in the Moslem religion there is a scarcity of forms and ceremonies. There are no ikons or sacred pictures, the liturgy is simple and is conducted in the language of the worshippers. There are, furthermore, no Moslem monasteries and no monks. "If the spirit of the period and the propaganda of the anti-religionists have had any effect," he said, "it would be discernible not in modification of outward forms, but rather in a diminution of the intensity of the beliefs of the followers of the religion."

#### WEAKENING OF RELIGIOUS FEELING

To give a correct judgment as to the quality and intensity of the religious feeling of a mass numbering millions is naturally and essentially a most difficult matter, yet no consideration of what the revolution has meant to religion and Church would be complete without it.

\*The All-Russian Church Conclave, which represented every Church district in the Russian Federation except two in Siberia, included delegates of the Tikhon faction, as well as of the various schismatic groups. At the session of May 3 the conclave unfrocked Tikhon and abolished his office of Patriarch. On May 5 Veden-sky was elected Archbishop of Moscow, and was solemnly consecrated in this new office at the Moscow Cathedral the next day. The conclave further abolished all sacred relics and voted to allow Bishops to marry.

In the first place, it is necessary to invalidate as evidence any phenomena that are directly and exclusively the result of hard, economic facts. In the last few years many churches, especially in the villages, have been closed. Priests have laid down the gown and hood for the spade or axe. This is a process which has not yet seen its end. There are two possible explanations. One group of thinkers say that the peasants are too poor to support the religious institutions of the village, which therefore they liquidate. During the Czarist régime the State paid for the maintenance of the clergy. Now the peasant cannot afford to do it out of his own meagre earnings. Another group would have it otherwise. They submit that any village, if it really wanted to do so, could pay for the upkeep of its single church. There is no reason why, in the early months of 1923, when most of the farmers were still living on the bumper Autumn crops, and when the prospects of increased prosperity were multiplying, the inhabitants of villages in the Caucasus or Ural districts should have dismissed their holy fathers and barred the doors of their houses of worship. The peasant is today, in actual fact, the best-situated man in all Russia.

Spitzberg, the President of the Atheist Society in Moscow, insists that the Russian is not religious by nature. That the world has exactly the contrary impression is due to the fact that the monarchist régime kept in life tens of thousands of churches and hundreds of thousands of churchmen; furthermore, the circumstance that the ordinary Russian is highly superstitious is a result of his ignorance and lack of education. Neither of these premises is open to dispute. Whether they justify the conclusion is another matter. It is certain that the Russian's faith in signs and worship of superstitions border so closely on his belief in the magic qualities of ikons and mummies of canonized saints and other physical objects of the Church that one cannot readily be separated from the other. The peasant will place a log in front of his cottage door in order to prevent a hailstorm from damaging his crops; he will place an ikon in the barn to drive the mice from his fields. If,

therefore, the general education which is being administered to the masses by the present régime and the special education directed against religion have the effect of weakening the ordinary Russian's faith in superstition, they must also shatter much of his belief in the things which he considers as an essential part of Church and religion.

Mention must still be made of an important influence toward the weakening of religion among the peasants. Each year the Soviets conscript some 500,000 or 600,000 peasant boys into the army, and there for twelve months give them instruction of a kind that is bound to undermine any religious feeling these men may have. When they return to their homes they propagate their new theories. Writers who know the common Russian folk well declare that in recent years the reverence for God and priest has depreciated considerably. It is a fact that the number of peasants who marry according to civil law and forego the religious ceremony is steadily increasing.

#### ANTI-RELIGIOUS BATTLE FAR FROM WON

And yet on religious holidays the churches are crowded with worshippers. This was especially in evidence in the cities during the recent Christmas and New Year services. Any one who imagines that the spirit of worship has been entirely eradicated from the Russian masses has merely to stand in front of a Moscow church and count the number of people who cross themselves incessantly and move their lips in prayer as they pass; or the number of persons who kiss the glass that encases the wax figure of the Virgin hanging on the outside wall of so many churches and even at ordinary street corners. There are probably less people who do these things now than when the Czar sat on his throne, but there are enough to convince one that the success which has attended the efforts of the Communist-atheists is rather small in comparison with the task that they have set for themselves.

It is clear that the Government will do nothing to make this task more difficult

than it is; nor will it prohibit Communist and atheistic organizations from giving offense to the religious feelings of a part of its citizens. But it seems to have adopted the policy of giving no offense itself. One often marvels at the lengths the Government goes in making concessions to the religious. Thus Dec. 25 was observed as an official holiday, and so also Jan. 6, the Christmas of the old calendar; the same is true of New Year's Day, and of the New Year's Day of the old calendar, which falls on Jan. 13; even the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist was kept as an official day of rest, all Government commissariats, all factories and stores being closed. It is interesting to note that the miners in at least one mine in the Ural district refused to accept the ruling of the Government, and despite the fact that they were Government employes, demonstratively operated the mine as usual on the religious holidays.

The Government leaves the eradication of "prejudices, superstitions and beliefs" to non-official organizations. It itself merely does the negative work of guarding against any aggrandizement of power on the part of the Church, and against any attempt at counter-revolutionary activity by the Church or any part of it, or by any individual connected with it.

What the future will bring is naturally only a subject for speculation. Several things, however, can be established with more or less certainty. As long as the Soviet Government maintains itself in power, the Church will receive no State subsidies. It will therefore of necessity be poorer, and consequently purer. Reformations have a future in Russia for this reason. They may take the form of irreparable schisms or of internal housecleanings—in any event their effect will be salutary. Furthermore, it is inevitable that the counter-religious propaganda and demonstrations of the Communists will have an ever-increasing effect, especially on the youth who is prohibited from receiving any religious education as an antidote. Church attendance is likely to suffer a steady falling off, and the number of houses of worship will certainly decrease. Nevertheless, the total disappearance of religion and the Church is still far off.

# AMERICAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST

By TYLER DENNETT

Lecturer in History at Johns Hopkins University, Mr. Dennett has for the last eight years devoted himself almost exclusively to the study of the affairs of the Far East, traveling over that part of the world twice. He was in Europe twice during the war and was at the Peace Conference. As a specialist in diplomatic history he prepared a monograph for the use of the American Commissioners at the Washington Disarmament Conference and has just published "Americans in Eastern China," a critical and historical study. He is now engaged in preparing other works on American diplomatic history, particularly with relation to the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific

*Aggression a pronounced feature of the history of United States policy in Eastern Asia—The demand for equality with other powers interested in China—The development of co-operation with Great Britain*

**I**S our Far Eastern policy changing? This question is now being asked with much frequency. Obviously, there can be no clear answer until there has been a definition of what that policy has been in the past, with a clear grasp of the fact that American political relations with the Far East extend further back than 1898. It will then be seen that the policy of the United States has consisted of two constant factors relating to purpose and three variable factors relating to method.

The oldest American policy in the Far East has been the demand for commercial equality. This has not been an exclusively Far Eastern policy. The stipulation for most favored nation treatment appeared in the first commercial treaty ever negotiated by the American people, and in subsequent treaties has been rarely omitted. (No assumption is more ridiculous than the one so often made that John Hay was the author of the open-door doctrine. One cannot point to a time when the United States Government did not assert its demand for commercial equality.) It was applied in the East as in the first commercial treaties, those with Siam and Muscat, and was repeated in the first treaties with China, Hawaii, Japan and Korea. It is quite clear that this element in American policy is not changing, nor is it likely to change.

The other primary object is really the foreign aspect of a domestic policy, namely, the American attitude on Asiatic settlement within American territory. From about 1850 to 1880 the policy was to encourage or at least to tolerate Asiatic immigration, but in the next decade this policy was completely reversed. There never has been any question since 1890 that the American people do not desire Asiatic immigrants. It must be equally clear that this factor in our Far Eastern policy is likewise not changing.

Both these major features of policy have revealed a decided tendency to grow more pronounced as the decades have passed. The open-door policy as defined by the treaties of 1922, while limited to a smaller geographic area than the policy of John Hay, is really larger in its content. Commercial equality in China now denotes not merely equality of commercial privilege in the exchange of commodities, which was about all that John Hay appears to have had in mind, but it also includes equality in every sort of commercial privilege, and its application will call for something even more than that, namely, equality of political influence—an equality never before insisted upon. Likewise, the policy of the stemming of the tide of Asiatic migration has today much wider support both geographically and racially. At first it ap-



plied only to Chinese, who came chiefly to the Pacific Slope. Later this exclusion was extended to Hawaii and the Philippines, and has come to include, in intent if not by treaty stipulation, all Asiatics, and has been stretched so far as to include a settled resolution that no Asiatic power shall be permitted to establish a naval base on the western coast of North America. Indeed, the settlement of Japanese anywhere in the Western Hemisphere, even in South America, has sometimes troubled alarmists, though it has never been the subject of any declared political program. It seems clear that, if there is to be any change in the major objects of American policy with reference to the Far East, it will be in the direction of demanding more rather than less.

It is in regard to changes in method that most confusion of thought exists. How shall the United States Government secure commercial equality in the Far East? And if political equality is requisite, how may that be obtained? How shall the tide of Asiatic migration be held in check? These questions are not new, and the answers have been various, falling into three categories. Thus, American action in the Far East and the Pacific has oscillated between intimidation and conciliation, between territorial aggression and reliance upon treaties backed up by the practice of international law and between a policy of isolation and one of co-operation with other interested powers. For the attainment of the already mentioned objects each one of these methods has at various times been chosen by the United States Government.

#### AMERICA'S USE OF INTIMIDATION

Mingled with authentic history of American relations with the Far East there is much that obscures the part which intimidation has played in the accomplishment of American objects. Before Caleb Cushing secured his treaty with China in 1844 the Imperial Government had been intimidated by the Anglo-Chinese War. By thinly veiled hints Cushing further intimidated the imperial officials, and this fact in large measure accounts for the ease with which he accomplished his mission. Perry used a similar method, but on an even more extensive scale, in Japan. Then fol-

lowed a brief period of conciliation, but under Seward the intimidation of Japan was resumed. The three decades following the retirement of Seward from the Department of State were characterized by conciliation in the case of Japan, Hawaii and Korea, but the Chinese immigration policy was established by the plainest kind of bullying. The policy of 1898-1900 was by no means entirely conciliatory. So far as the retention of the Philippines and Hawaii was concerned, the conciliation was almost entirely on the part of the other interested powers. Coming down to more recent dates, Japan does not admit that the policy of the United States Government since 1900 has been entirely conciliatory. Just now, measured by the treaties of 1922, it would appear that American policy is pacific, although not a little impatient with the delinquencies of China. As to the future, we would prefer to raise, rather than answer, the question. Does any one believe, for example, that the United States is now irrevocably committed to a conciliatory policy in the Far East? Certainly the policy is a contingent one and not fixed with such certainty as the Monroe and Hay doctrines.

The second traditional choice as to method for the accomplishment of American purposes is between isolated and co-operative action. American relations with the Far East began in a period when the United States was politically isolated from Europe. This was the attitude of Daniel Webster when he wrote Caleb Cushing's instructions, and this policy suited exactly the temper of Cushing himself. It also suited Commodore Perry, who confidently expected the day would come when the United States would contend with Great Britain or Russia for the mastery of the Pacific. Seward in Washington, Anson Burlingame in Peking, and Townsend Harris in Yedo reversed this policy of isolation and established co-operation, but the feeble co-operative policy lapsed soon after the beginning of the Grant Administration. John Hay returned to co-operation. Woodrow Wilson abandoned again the policy of co-operation when he caused the withdrawal from the six-power loan in China, but soon saw his folly and returned to the policy of Seward when he gave his blessing to the Consortium. The

Harding Administration is committed to the revised Wilson policy, but, if we may judge from the temper of the Senate in last year's discussions of the treaties, co-operation is by no means a settled American policy. A policy in the Far East which commits the United States to nothing more than to "consult," which is the way the Senate appears to interpret it, is really more a policy of courtesy than of actual co-operation.

The nub of a co-operative policy is reciprocal obligation. All earlier American attempts at this policy have been vitiated by the desire to get something for nothing. The old Anglo-Japanese alliance was based on truly reciprocal obligations which were faithfully discharged. In the place of this alliance there has come the Four-Power Treaty, but the United States has in the pact assumed little or none of the specific reciprocal obligations which were the life and breath of the old alliance. Would the United States, during the lifetime of this treaty, actually co-operate with Great Britain, France and Japan in any such way as Great Britain and Japan co-operated during the World War? Not if that co-operation required appropriations by Congress. We cannot conceive of Congress appropriating money to support a tottering British rule in India or to suppress revolt against Japan in Korea. There might, however, be a different decision on an issue which involved the defense of foreign rights in China. In the face of these uncertainties and in the light of the historic shifts from isolation to co-operation and back again, who is prepared to assert that co-operation in Far Eastern affairs has become a settled American policy?

#### TERRITORIAL AGGRESSION

The third variable in American policy has been the attitude toward territorial aggression. It may not be generally recognized, yet it is strictly true, that the Americans in Eastern Asia do not enjoy a single privilege which was not originally secured either by intimidation or by territorial aggression. By the ubiquitous, most-favored-nation clause we profited by the territorial aggressions of other powers and made acquisitions on our own initiative.

In accordance with Webster's instruc-

tions to steer clear of any shadow of territorial aggression, Cushing kept American policy in the path of international law. But Commodore Perry raised the American flag over the Bonin Islands, now regarded as part of the mainland of Japan; was fully prepared to hoist the flag over the Lew Chews, and wanted to see it over Formosa—all of which is now Japanese territory. Indeed, two years after Perry left the East, the American flag was actually raised over a part of Formosa with the knowledge and active sympathy of American diplomatic representatives and naval officers. Even the pacific Townsend Harris wanted to acquire Formosa for the United States, proposing purchase, however, rather than conquest. Commissioner McLane in 1854 wished to "enlarge the protectorate character" of the existing treaty with China. Secretary of State Seward asked, indeed almost demanded, that the United States be admitted to a campaign for the conquest of Korea, which, he believed, was contemplated by France in 1867. A period of relinquishment followed. The action in Formosa had already been repudiated, and Perry's claims in both the Bonins and Lew Chews were allowed to lapse. When the King of Korea wished to give the United States an island off the coast of Korea for a naval station, the offer was entirely ignored, although the Secretary of the Navy had recently recommended that such a station be acquired. Nevertheless, about that time Pearl Harbor was secured by a non-alienation agreement, and a few years later the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to make Pearl Harbor doubly secure. Immediately followed the retention of the Philippines.

These facts, taken in conjunction with the purchase of Alaska—which was also closely related to military strategy in the Pacific—make one pause before pronouncing complacently that the United States is forever committed to a purely pacific policy in Eastern Asia. Looking at the matter dispassionately and without regard to what is right and what is wrong in international ethics, we seriously doubt whether the United States is as firmly committed to relinquish a policy of territorial aggression in the East as Americans in 1885 thought was the case. That the treaties of 1922 will be scrupulously ob-

served we have no doubt, but ten years is a short time, less than elapsed between the time when the United States ignored the offer of an island in the China Sea and the day when President McKinley ordered the American Commissioners at Paris to demand the entire Philippine archipelago.

It thus appears that the objects of American policy are irrevocably fixed, or changing only in the sense that they are more likely to be enlarged than diminished, and that the methods by which these objects may be realized and supported are contingent upon the success or failure of those for the moment adopted. If international law, co-operation and conciliation are sufficient to accomplish the desired result, it appears wholly unlikely that the United States will ever in the immediate or distant future resort to isolated action involving intimidation or territorial aggression. In this respect, also, American policy has perhaps undergone its last change.

#### CO-OPERATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

Notwithstanding the traditional Fourth of July orations, the stump campaign speeches, the impoverished stock of political issues which may be dragged forth to make an election day, and notwithstanding the amazing misstatements and misinterpretations of American history in the Congress of the United States, we cannot but believe that when it comes to a clear-cut issue, Congress and the American people will fully realize that co-operation with Great Britain in the East—even when that co-operation does not carry with it the right of American dictation in British colonial and naval affairs—is more profitable for the United States than a break with the co-operative policy. If this co-operation between Great Britain and the United States is assured, it is difficult to foresee when any of the other powers will elect to oppose rather than to join in associated action. The adoption of the consortium two years ago may prove to have been a much more significant step than the calling of the Disarmament Conference or the ratification of the resulting treaties. The moment the recent disturbances in China were reported to the White House there came an intimation that the

most effective aid would be provided to forestall the recurrence of such a disorder, and that this aid might most surely come, not from any of the political agreements reached a year ago and ratified by the Senate, but from the consortium, the birth of which bore witness to the belief of the State Department that only by co-operation could the Far Eastern question be solved. It is to be seriously questioned whether the political party which some day seeks to repudiate the moral obligations thus assumed by the Executive Department of the Government will find much support in the nation. It is a common-sense proposition that no nation must be allowed to work its will in Chinese affairs without regard to the general welfare—the welfare of China as well as of the powers. So long as Great Britain and the United States can work together there is little likelihood that the co-operative policy will again be abandoned.

Thus far we have suggested the conclusion that American policy toward the Far East is not changing. Committed to a co-operative policy, the United States desires equality of privilege with other interested powers in China. But will that policy continue to be conciliatory toward China? On this point we do not feel any great degree of assurance. If under a policy of conciliation and indulgence China proves to be able to disentangle its domestic affairs—well and good. But in the last year China has made very little progress in that direction. Coincident with the disorganization of China there has come a large increase in nationalistic self-assertion, both individual and collective. To-day there are tens of thousands more Chinese who have been abroad and have imbibed the spirit of Western nationalism than there were in 1900. All China has seen the white men quarrel among themselves even within the republic itself. Already about half the Europeans in the republic, that is, the Russians, Germans and Austrians, have been deprived of their extraterritorial rights. Foreign representatives in China report that there is now a much greater disposition on the part of the Chinese to stand up for their rights than there was even a dozen years ago. China has, nevertheless, recently defaulted in both its financial and its international



obligations toward Western nations. If the continuance of a conciliatory policy is contingent upon its success, then it would appear that either China must mend her ways or the conciliation will give way to sterner measures.

#### THE QUESTION OF BANDITRY

The present crisis in Chinese affairs resulting from the coup of bandits in Shantung affords an opportunity to measure the exact relation of present to past policies. At the moment this is being written two problems are confronting the Department of State. The immediate task is to secure the release of the imprisoned foreigners. The second problem, which cannot be handled until the first is solved, is how to restore to foreigners in China the security of life and property which they enjoyed for a decade following the Boxer settlement. The disposition of the United States Government has been to work in the closest co-operation with the other interested powers for the release of the prisoners. Apparently public opinion in Great Britain and Italy, preoccupied by affairs closer to home, has not been demanding either harsh or precipitate measures. It has, therefore, been easy for the Department of State officials to work in the closest harmony with the other Governments. Strangely enough, for it has usually happened otherwise, the most energetic demands for less conciliatory action have come from American sources. The present co-operation policy is therefore being threatened to some extent by impatient American interests which perhaps would not object to the use of intimidation and are at least lukewarm on the subject of co-operation.

The fundamental question thus forced upon the consideration of foreign Governments by the bandit outrage is the adoption of measures to render the recurrence of the present disorder unlikely. Here also it would appear that the Department of State, if left free to choose its course, will adopt conciliation and will seek the closest possible co-operation with the other treaty powers. But if we may judge from the past, it seems probable that there will be a continuance and perhaps increasing demand for some new measures of intima-

tion and perhaps dissatisfaction with those who would pause at each step to consult Great Britain, France and Japan. The policies affirmed and endorsed by the United States Government last year will thus be put to their first severe test. Will American public opinion support the present policy? Will it ever be willing to follow the suggestions which have issued from the White House and the Department of State that the Consortium bankers may be made the agency for the salvation of China? It is at least debatable whether the solution of a political question may best be turned over to financial groups, but it is greatly to be hoped that the American people will stand squarely behind the co-operative policy.

If we may learn anything from the history of the political relation with the Far East, it is that an isolated policy results in a net loss to American interests without any compensating gain to China. The sound policy is to keep step with the other interested powers. By this method it is not likely that the Americans will always carry their point in its entirety. These must give and take, in which event the United States will have to concede something to Japan, Great Britain and France for the sake of co-operation. On the other hand, these powers also will have to make concessions, and the real result will be to moderate the policy pursued by China, although that policy may have in it more of severity than the United States Government would, acting alone, choose to employ.

Notwithstanding the present extreme disorganization in China, the time is approaching when the existing international relations of China must be liquidated. At present they rest fundamentally on "naked force," to borrow a phrase first used by Sir R. Alcock more than half a century ago. No one who has studied the recent growth of public opinion in China can believe that China will much longer accept international obligations which have been forced upon her. In this transitory period the best assurance that American interests will be protected, that upheavals will be avoided, and that China will be saved to political help and strength will come from co-operation among the powers, abstinence from territorial aggression and the avoidance of intimidation.

# POLITICAL CAUSES OF CHINESE BANDITRY

By HENRY W. BUNN, Ph. D.

*Abnormal conditions the result of the Tuchun system created by Yuan Shih-kai—Necessity of abolishing military rule in the provinces and disbanding the Tuchuns' troops*

HOWEVER regrettable in itself, the exploit of the Shantung bandits has had the happy effect of arousing popular interest in what is to the political and social philosopher the most fascinating and important of current world problems, namely, the problem of "Changing China." Such an outrage implies very abnormal general conditions. To understand those conditions, it is necessary to understand the Tuchun system, which came into existence after the creation of the Chinese Republic in 1911.

Yuan Shih-kai, the first President of united China, was at loggerheads from the beginning with the Parliament which convened in April, 1913, succeeding the Nanking Assembly (the revolutionary assembly, so-called from the original place of meeting). The majority of that Parliament were loquacious doctrinaires, while Yuan was an aggressive personality, a "strong man." Needing money at once and badly and fearing unconscionable delay and possibly refusal should he submit the matter to Parliament, Yuan contracted a loan with the foreign consortium. The Provisional Constitution vested Parliament with control over finance, and this breach of the Constitution provoked a revolt in the Yangtse region which Yuan suppressed with considerable cruelty. Having decided that strong-arm methods were necessary, Yuan established Provincial Military Governors, or Tuchuns, each with an army under his command, throughout the country, assigning picked Northern troops to the Southern provinces whose loyalty he doubted. Thus originated the famous and infamous Tuchun system. Yuan finally dissolved Parliament and abrogated the Provisional Constitution. His autocratic ré-

gime culminated late in 1915, when, in a fit of madness, he proclaimed himself Emperor. At once a revolt broke out in several provinces in the Far South, and Yuan strangely lost his nerve and abdicated. He died in 1916.

General Li Yuan-hung, Vice President, succeeded Yuan Shih-kai as President, restored the Provisional Constitution and reconvened the Parliament. He appears to be an honest Republican, but to lack ability and discernment. He selected as his Prime Minister General Tuan Chi-jui, a Tory of the Tories, a special protégé and henchman of Yuan Shih-kai. Tuan soon quite overshadowed the President. He continued the military policy of Yuan Shih-kai, but, whereas in Yuan's time the Tuchuns were subordinate and efficient and forwarded the provincial revenues to Peking, they now began to get out of hand, to consult only their personal interest, to line their pockets with the tax collections, to withhold pay due their troops, to fall foul of each other, to flout the central authority and to behave as we now expect Tuchuns to behave.

In 1917 the question of whether or no China should declare war on Germany was in debate. Tuan was all for, the President and a majority of Parliament were against, declaring war. Tuan attempted improper coercion, but the President acted like a man of spirit and dismissed him. Thereupon several of the Northern Tuchuns revolted and threatened a march on Peking unless the President should dissolve Parliament. The President yielded and recalled Tuan, whereupon the Southern, or "Constitutional," party in Parliament withdrew to Canton, establishing there the Southern, or Canton, Re-

public and declared war on Peking. Li Yuan-hung now resigned and was succeeded by General Fêng Kuo-chang, who retained Tuan as Prime Minister and was, like his predecessor, soon overshadowed by that old Tory. War was declared on Germany in August, 1917. It is said on good authority that before the question of war with Germany came up there was a fair prospect of an accord between the Northern and Southern factions, but that the Japanese fomented the strife on that issue, with the results already noted. Tuan Chi-jui was determined to have an army suitable for participation in the great war, but for this money was required. There being no money to be had in China, it must be borrowed abroad, and the only country both able and willing to lend it was Japan. Japan was not only willing but eager, for she recognized a heaven-sent opportunity to corrupt and enslave the Peking Government.

#### JAPANESE BRIBERY

The militaristic party, headed by Tuan Chi-jui, was divided into two factions, the Anhwei and the Chihli. The Anhwei party had acquired the ascendant, its controlling organ being the so-called Anfu Club. In the course of the year 1918 the Japanese placed loans in China to a total of about \$125,000,000. These loans were in essence bribes to the Anfu Club, two of whose members—the Ministers of Finance and Communications—controlled their disbursement. The major part of the money found its way into the pockets of the Anfuites, only a minor part going to the organization of a so-called "war participation army" of 40,000 picked troops, which was placed under the command of an Anfuite and might properly have been denominated the "Anfu Guard." Tuan Chi-jui was personally honest, and no Japanese money crossed his palm, but he scarcely counted any longer; the Government of Peking had become a Government by a pro-Japanese camarilla of extreme reactionaries supported by a picked army.

On April 30, 1919, the march of the revolution, arrested since in February, 1912, Yuan Shih-kai became President, was resumed. On that date President Wilson at Versailles rendered his decision on the Shantung question against China.

When the news reached China by wire, there was a mighty demonstration of Chinese nationalism. This was not at all surprising, but what was unexpected was that the manifestation was obedient to intelligent direction—the direction of a wonderfully organized Students' Union of 700,000 members, the Union being under the supreme direction of Young China, that is, the students who have imbibed Western learning. Public opinion thus directed compelled the Government to refuse adhesion to the Versailles Treaty; it caused several notoriously pro-Japanese officials to seek refuge in the legation quarter at Peking; and it instituted a nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods. The handwriting was on the wall, but the Anfuites ignored it, replaced the legation refugees by others of the same complexion, and proceeded on their primrose path.

The President (Hsu Shih-chang, elected in October, 1918, a very accomplished but rather spineless person) had also marked the handwriting, and at last nerved himself to appropriate action. He tried to liberalize his Cabinet, but the Anfuites in the illegally packed Parliament blocked the nominations. Public opinion raised its voice in indignation and President Hsu took courage. He issued a mandate dismissing the Anfuite head of the War Participation Army (now called the "Frontier Defense Army"). The latter refused to be dismissed, and Tuan Chi-jui, who had not read the handwriting on the wall, backed him. But a surprise awaited Tuan and the Anfuite commander. General Chang Tso-lin, Super-Tuchun of the three Manchurian provinces, and General Tsao Kun, Super-Tuchun of the provinces of Chili, Shantung and Honan, championed the President and descended upon the Frontier Defense Army, which soon melted away, induced to desert by the propaganda of Young China. The remnant who put up a fight were defeated by one of Tsao Kun's divisional commanders named Wu Pei-fu. The Anfuite leaders took refuge in the legation quarter of Peking. Tsao Kun was the most powerful member of that Chili faction of the militarist party which for three years had been eclipsed by the Anfu faction. As for the motives of Chang Tso-lin's participation in the happy episode, he probably



saw that fortune was making a new deal and proposed to hold a hand.

The significant facts in this connection are: (1) the second grand demonstration of the power of a Chinese public opinion obedient to the direction of Young China; (2) the emergence in Wu Pei-fu of a new type of Tuchun, representative of the best traditions of the old China which is struggling to evolve into the new; and (3) the ignominious disappearance of Japanese influence from the Chinese scene, greatly simplifying the struggle.

Already as divisional commander Wu Pei-fu was a marked man. His rise after the episode just noted was rapid. In 1921 he became Super-Tuchun of the provinces of Honan and Hupeh, one of the great triumvirate of Super-Tuchuns, whereof the others are Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun. These and Sun Yat-sen, President of the Southern, or Canton, Republic, have been since August, 1920, the outstanding figures of the Chinese scene. Wu Pei-fu is at an equal remove from the intransigent revolutionary Sun Yat-sen and the reactionary Chang Tso-lin. Tsao Kun is a self-seeking opportunist, more akin to Chang Tso-lin than to Wu Pei-fu. Chang Tso-lin attempted to impose himself as dictator at Peking, and in the Spring of 1922 Wu Pei-fu brought up his army to Chili, thrashed old Chang, and sent him flying back to his Manchurian Tuchunate. Many sanguine ones were confident that the great patriot would be able quickly to carry out his program, effect a genuine reunification of North and South, abolish the pest of Tuchunism, and start China afresh on the path of constitutionalism. The fresh beginnings under his auspices (he has given no hint of playing the dictator) were hopeful. The constitutional Parliament of 1913 was reconvened. Hsu Shih-chang, illegally installed as President by the militarists, was persuaded to resign, and Li Yuan-hung, who resigned in 1917 under pressure, was reinstalled as President. Sun Yat-sen rejected overtures for reunion, but General Chen Kwang-ming, a man of Wu Pei-fu's kidney, ousted him from Canton and declared the Canton Republic abolished and the seceded provinces reunited to their Northern sisters.

But the hopes of a new China were pitched too high. That Parliament of loquacious doctrinaires is not improved by added age and experience. Sun Yat-sen ousted Chen Kwang-ming in turn and proclaimed the Canton Republic once more. Chang Tso-lin has reorganized his army and is said to contemplate another descent on Peking. Tsao Kun is making preparations to foil any such attempt. The Government is bankrupt. Worst of all, it is found impracticable to abolish Tuchunism at present. Wu Pei-fu admits that. Until Tuchunism is abolished the Government, however well disposed, cannot conciliate confidence at home and abroad. Yet there is room for hope that Wu Pei-fu will prevail. It is repeatedly stated that the Tuchuns and their armies cannot be abolished unless the central Government pays off those armies (pay is heavily in arrears) by means of a loan. But neither a foreign nor a domestic loan can be negotiated at present. Wu Pei-fu probably has in mind another and indeed a better way. The wholesale abolition of Tuchunism before civil governments have been established in the provinces would be a mistake. A better procedure would be to establish civil governments in the provinces; separate the Tuchuns from civil functions, including tax collections; gradually substitute good for bad Tuchuns; institute measures to insure efficient tax collection and honest remittances to the central treasury, and finally, pay off gradually through the central treasury and disband the Tuchuns' armies.

All this will take time. Meanwhile, other outrages similar to the Linching one will be possible, and there will be a good deal of clamor for drastic foreign intervention. Such incidents are properly to be regarded as, in the broad philosophic view, petty details of a grand process of evolution toward that new China which shall be a blend of the best elements of the ancient Chinese culture and social and economic organization with elements borrowed from Western science. It behooves us to watch that process patiently, humorously and magnanimously. Intervention would be certain to arouse intense resentment and would most probably give to Chinese nationalism a fresh reactionary turn.

# BANDITS A GROWING MENACE IN CHINA

By FRANK H. HEDGES

Mr. Hedges has been in Japan and China for the past three years as staff correspondent at Peking of the Japan Advertiser of Tokio and managing editor of that journal while in Tokio and also as correspondent of The Philadelphia Public Ledger in the Chinese and Japanese capitals

*Increased activity of bandits during the last eighteen months—Outlaws organized into gangs of marauders and pillagers from troops of defeated Tuchuns—Why banditry has become a national institution*

THE last eighteen months have seen greater activity on the part of Chinese bandits than has been the case for years. It is due, primarily, to the disturbed political conditions and political corruption of the republic, just as those events which from this side of the Pacific take on the appearance of anti-foreign demonstrations by the people are not so much anti-foreign in their cause as in their effect. The attitude of the bandits and Chinese soldiery is not fundamentally a hatred and contempt for foreigners; it springs from the belief of the Chinese coolie-soldier that he is well-nigh omnipotent. The result produced is the same.

None of the eighteen provinces of China, nor any of her dependencies, has been free from banditry recently. The two provinces south and east of Peking, the provinces in the extreme southeastern part of the republic, and the three eastern provinces, or Manchuria, have suffered most. In many cases the bandits have acted from political rather than mercenary motives. In every case the bandits have been successful, and no attempt worthy of the name has been made to suppress them except in one small district, where the troops of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General," literally "put the fear of the Lord" into the many bands of outlaws infesting that region. General Feng was then removed to Peking, where, it must be confessed, his presence and that of the 30,000 well-disciplined troops under him gives a sense of security to both the

Chinese and foreign residents of the capital. But the region which he formerly governed is once more infested with bandits.

The political aspects of banditry in China spring from the present system of government, or rather, lack of government. Although China has suffered frequent changes of dynasty through war and conquest, the scholar and the merchant ranked above the soldier in the popular mind and in ability to win success. Learning was almost the only road to high office. That time has passed. Force, and force alone, is the sole road to office now. The man who really wishes to "carve out his destiny" must do so with the machine gun. As a consequence military leaders, each with practically independent armies, have sprung up all over the republic. No robber baron in the old days on the Rhine was more of a curse to society than is the average Tuchun (Military Governor) of China today.

The Manchus were forced from their throne, or rather from their political control of the empire, by the guns and bullets of the republican troops eleven years ago. A President was elected, and every province had a Military Governor, the word "Tuchun" being coined to describe his office. These military overlords became conscious of their power. In many cases they seized control of the civil administration of the provinces as well, and in time gradually extended their power until they were absolute dictators of as

much of the soil of China as their troops could hold against rival war lords. Revenues that should have gone to Peking were withheld by the Tuchun. The mandates of the President were obeyed or disobeyed as it suited the pleasure of the local dictator. When necessary, coolies and civilians were impressed into service for warfare. This is the situation in China today. The Government in Peking actually governs a little area about thirty miles square. The so-called Government in Canton controls a scarcely larger territory. The rest of the republic is parceled out among the Tuchuns and the lesser militarists, each of whom is independent in all but name, and some of them even in this respect. Wars among the Tuchuns are frequent. Alliances are formed and battles, usually rather bloodless, are fought. The victor enters his new territory, his troops loot the inhabitants, and even heavier taxes are imposed. The defeated Tuchun is quite as great a curse as the successful one. He himself may disappear from the scene to live in comfort and ease on the immense fortune he has pillaged from the people, but his followers are not thus easily disposed of.

With the overthrow of their commander,

the Tuchun's troops have to find new occupations. Naturally they look for work where they may use the only tools they know—rifles and bullets—and become bandits. This is not the only type of bandit in China. There are others who are in the business merely for the loot they may obtain. The bandits that constitute the most serious menace and that have acquired the habit of taking Americans and other foreigners prisoner are these "political bandits." The defeated Tuchun and the troops of that Tuchun are declared outlaws. It is easier in China to loot the inhabitants and lead a prosperous life as a soldier of the army than as a bandit. That is why most of these outlawed troops seek to regain admission into the army. They have found that the best pawn they can use in bargaining with Peking and with the militarist who may be strong enough to control Peking at the time is the life and liberty of an American or Briton or some other foreigner. Therefore they raid a mission station or a passing train and carry off any Americans they may find to their mountain strongholds. From these lairs they send out word that the foreigner will be released just as soon as they are reincorporated into the army and par-



International

Train wrecked by Chinese bandits. The photograph shows the baggage car and a first-class coach just after the bandits derailed the Pukow-Peking Blue Express and kidnapped a number of Americans and Europeans



done, but that if such action is not forthcoming the prisoner will be killed. They also state that if troops are sent out to capture them the foreigner will be placed in the front rank and so shot down by his would-be liberators.

The foreign diplomats in Peking are not concerned with the internal political problems of China. Their very profession forbids that they interfere with political conditions in any way, but they are concerned with the life and safety of their nationals. Strong protests are lodged with the Peking Government demanding the release of the captives. Peking, faced with the force of a powerful Western nation, is obliged to accede to the demands of the bandits. But this is an endless chain, for the bandits are certain to continue to utilize this very effective method of gaining their ends. It is essential, if the life and property of foreigners in China are to be secure, that the bandits be punished and so taught that the capture of foreigners is not the proper road to their goal.

#### THE OUTRAGES IN HONAN

The Honan bandits of last Fall were of this type. Their leader had adhered to the losing side during the war in the Spring of 1922. He himself had fled into Manchuria, but his troops could not follow him, and so became outlawed. They sought to re-enter what is called the National Army of China, but were refused. On June 9 they looted a mission station in Honan Province and carried off a Norwegian missionary. On Aug. 24 they captured a Frenchman and a Greek. An Italian missionary was taken prisoner just across the line in a neighboring province. On Oct. 13 they looted an American mission station and carried off an American and a Swedish missionary. Three British subjects were captured before the month was out, and early in November another American missionary and his six-year-old son were taken captive. These Honan bandits, about 10,000 in number, were well organized and acted as a unit. They demanded that they be taken back into the National Army. Peking, squirming under the pressure brought to bear by the American, French and other legations, consented, but General Wu Pei-fu, who at that

time controlled the Government, refused. Peking was helpless. Finally, the legations concerned addressed a telegram to General Wu direct and organized an international commission with the American Military Attaché as its head to proceed to Honan to investigate the situation. It was then that General Wu withdrew his opposition. The foreigners were released on the payment of a small ransom and the bandits were taken back into the army. Reward, honor and high office, rather than punishment and disgrace, came to the bandits as the result of their successfully capturing nearly a dozen foreigners. Is it to be wondered that the so-called Suchow bandits of Shantung Province should have imitated them and that American lives have been lost as a result? Of the other bandit outrages of the last eighteen months, the murder of Dr. Albert Shelton, American missionary, on Feb. 17, 1922, probably made the deepest impression in the United States. In this instance there was no political significance. About a half dozen other Americans or Europeans have been captured during that time, while one of them, a Belgian priest, was also murdered.

The Japanese in Shantung and in Manchuria have suffered heavily at the hands of the bandits. It is less than three years ago that Japan sent a punitive force across the Manchurian border from Korea, following the looting and burning of a Japanese consulate and the murder of Japanese subjects. When the time came for the return of the leased territory and Port of Tsing-tao in Shantung to China by Japan, the bandits in that region became extraordinarily active. They demanded that Peking give them the task of policing the returned city of Tsing-tao, and they levied a heavy tribute on the Chinese merchants of the city. So serious did the situation become that the United States dispatched a cruiser and Great Britain a gunboat to Tsing-tao in order to protect life and property. Thousands of Chinese fled the city as the time for the transfer approached, and one life insurance agent reported a \$100,000 business among his Chinese clients. Fifteen hundred bandits had the little city terrorized. The President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce was captured and forced to witness the torture of another prisoner until he promised to pay

the tribute demanded. It was a month before the American cruiser was ordered away from Tsing-tao, and virtually all reports from the city since its return to China tell of raids and unlawful tribute on the part of the bandits.

The mere presence of the American cruiser in the harbor was sufficient to insure the safety of American life and property in Tsing-tao, for the suppression of the Boxer rising in 1900 by foreign troops has bred into millions of Chinese a fear and respect for the flag of any foreign nation. That this lesson is beginning to fade is evidenced by the bandits becoming bold enough to capture foreigners while traveling between Shanghai and Peking, on the best-equipped train in China, and on one of the two principal railroad lines of the republic. There are frequently times, however, when the American flag is better protection against bandits than would be a half hundred Chinese troops as escort. Two years ago some of China's semi-soldiers captured a native in the Yangtse Valley and cut off his head. Searching his clothes for loot, they discovered papers which identified him as an employe of the Standard Oil Company of New York. Fearful of the possible outcome of their deed, they sewed their victim's head on the body and returned it to the parents with profuse apologies. The most certain way to insure the safety of Americans in the interior of China is to breed this same respect into the average Chinese soldier and bandit.

#### THE "RED BEARDS" OF MANCHURIA

Except for Japanese, and, since 1917, Russians, the bandits of Manchuria rarely molest foreigners in that section of China. Yet on the streets of Mukden, Changchun or any other Manchurian city one constantly hears of the "Hunghutze," or "Red Beards," as the mounted bandits of Manchuria are called. Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Military Governor of Manchuria, was himself once a Hunghutze leader and was bribed into supporting the Peking Government by being offered a Colonel's commission in the National Army if he would forsake banditry. The Manchurian bandits are not primarily political in their aims, but find robbing

and pillage a lucrative business. Tribute is levied and exemption given in return. This is a custom that has been observed and practiced in China for centuries. A merchant often finds it cheaper to pay a fixed yearly tribute to neighboring bandit gangs than run the risk of pillage. So universally accepted has this custom become in Manchuria that not long ago one of the bandit chiefs invited local magistrates and other Government officials to attend his wedding celebration. They accepted the invitation eagerly, and there followed the strange sight of officers of the law doing honor to an outlaw chieftain as his guests.

A Japanese who had belonged to one of these Manchurian bandit gangs a couple of years ago gave an intimate description of their organization and activities which was published in a Japanese magazine called *Taiyo*, or the *Sun*. A translation of a part of his article reads:

Mounted bandits are organized after the present system of the Chinese Army. A *lin*, or section, is composed of 70 to 170 bandits, while a *ying*, or battalion, consists of 200 to 500. A *lin* is divided into *pai*, or companies, and a *pai* is composed of three *peng*, or squads. Four *lin* make a *ying*. *Yings* are commanded by a captain and a lieutenant, and they have an accountant, a chief secretary, four assistant secretaries and an orderly.

Their usual arms are Russian, Japanese or Chinese rifles, but at present some have machine, field or mountain guns and bombs purchased from the Bolsheviks or Bolshevik deserters. The equipment is the private property of the leaders. Sometimes the leaders are financed by private capitalists. At other times deserters from the regular army or other bands of marauders bring their own arms, but these arms have to be purchased by the leaders because gangs which have their own arms are difficult to control. The purchase of arms is one of the most important matters, and the leaders are always making efforts to find supplies. The discipline of the mounted bandits is far stricter than that of the regular army.

The organization of mounted bandits begins every year in April or May, and the gangs disband in October or the beginning of November. During the season they live in the mountains or sometimes in the houses of local residents, and their provisions are bought from local merchants. They rarely loot food from farmers. From November to April they work as ordinary coolies or burn charcoal. While they are in their dens they live on wheat or millet and enjoy meat, fish, vegetables and white sugar, but during plunder-

ing expeditions they have to live frugally. The dens are usually situated a few miles from villages, where they buy their necessities. The dens are, of course, chosen because of their natural strength. From April to July the bandits send scouting parties to towns and attack merchants transporting goods. The crops of opium form especially desirable booty. After October they organize attacks upon towns. In South Manchuria the mounted bandits are engaged in looting all the year round. Their chief plunder there is corn. Every gang keeps strictly to its own "sphere of influence."

The expenses of the expedition are deducted from the total plunder and the rest is distributed among the members of the gang. Six-tenths of the profit goes to the leader, who has to provide his followers with arms and food and his officers with salaries, while the remainder is shared equally. The average income of a leader of mounted bandits is 10,000 yen (\$5,000) or more, while an ordinary follower receives from 300 yen (\$150) to 400 yen (\$200). The dividends of officials vary from 600 yen (\$300) to 1,000 yen (\$500).

The relations between the mounted bandits and the Chinese authorities are peculiar. The local authorities in China are always preparing to attack mounted bandits and organizing special constabulary, but the relations between the gangs and the regular army is friendly. When a band launches an attack the soldiers generally co-operate with the bandits, or at least avoid a clash. Although the merchants are afraid of bandits, coolies and poor farmers assist them, for they protect them from the pillage of the regular army or the civilian authorities.

#### A BANDIT WHO REFORMED

It is not unusual for a bandit to "reform," as has the one just quoted, and he sometimes turns State's evidence. Only last Summer one of the most daring bandit leaders in Anhwei Province, the same province which is the home of the bandits who attacked the train on May 6, reformed and was pardoned by the Tuchun, but the bandits who had been serving under him failed to see the light. Electing a new leader, they continued their depredations. So great was the suffering they caused in their favorite district, no man's life, wife or property being safe, that in desperation the Governor appealed to their now re-

formed leader of other days to head a band of 800 provincial soldiers to suppress them. The commission was eagerly accepted, and the former bandit, knowing well the ways of the outlaws, captured the wife of the new leader of the gang, holding her for ransom unless this new leader and his followers surrendered to the Governor. At first the new leader refused, but finally he sent a proposal to the Governor which was accepted and put into execution. This was that the former chieftain, who was then the leader of the bandit-exterminating troops, should be killed, the new leader's wife should be returned to him unharmed, and the new leader with all of his followers be taken into the provincial army as regular troops with good pay and furnished with new uniforms and food. The Governor did not hesitate. In less than an hour the reformed chieftain was beheaded, the captured wife had been returned and the Governor had recruited a force of several hundred trained men for his private army.

To eliminate banditry in China today is virtually impossible. It is too firmly entrenched as a national institution for any but the slowest progress to be made against it. China is too disturbed as a nation to put it down within her own borders, and certain it is that no foreign nation or group of foreign nations can send troops throughout the length and breadth of China to exterminate the bandits. America is interested in helping to rid China of this curse, of course, but interested only in a humanitarian way. Nevertheless, the United States should see that the lives, liberty and property of its citizens in China are adequately protected from banditry. The release of the Americans captured in Shantung cannot solve the problem. We shall be confronted with the same situation again and again in the very near future. A policy strong enough to put the fear of America in the heart of every Chinese bandit is necessary. It would not be an unfriendly act toward China; it would be one which would benefit that country far more than this.

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# SHANTUNG AND ITS FOREIGN RULERS

By NEVIN O. WINTER

The writer of this article has recently returned from an extensive trip through the Far East, during which he studied conditions in the Shantung Peninsula. He was there at the time when the transfer of sovereignty from Japan to China was to take place. Mr. Winter has for a number of years been traveling abroad and writing on foreign countries, one of his most important books being "Mexico and Her People of Today," revised several times since its first publication in 1907.

*Development of one of China's richest provinces by the Germans and the Japanese—Tsing-tao converted into a modern city—Intense interest of the Chinese in recovering the birthplace of Confucius*

WHAT is Shantung? What does it mean to the Chinese? What changes have taken place? These are questions that the world has been asking. The interest of the Chinese in Shantung is intense. To him it is a holy land, corresponding to Palestine among Christians. It was the birthplace of Confucius and the scene of his teaching. The family of Confucius, who propounded his philosophy more than six hundred years before John the Baptist heralded the coming of Christ, is probably the oldest on earth, the present representative, Prince Kung, being the seventy-fifth in direct line. Every year the birthplace of Confucius is the scene of visitation by thousands of his present-day followers, who climb to the great temple on a mountain top, reached only by ascending several thousand steps. "No mountain is greater than Tai-shan! No history is older than Tai-shan!" are expressions that have been repeated in China from time almost immemorial. It is the most celebrated spot in Shantung—one of the most notable in China. Most visitors to the sacred mountain are carried up the 4,000 feet elevation comfortably seated in sedan chairs resting on the shoulders of sure-footed Chinese coolies. The pilgrims walk, for reverence demands this, and there is a constant succession of ascending and descending devotees. Excepting those who have become Christianized, practically all Chinese are Confucians. They may be Buddhists, Taoists or

Mohammedans, but they are also Confucians.

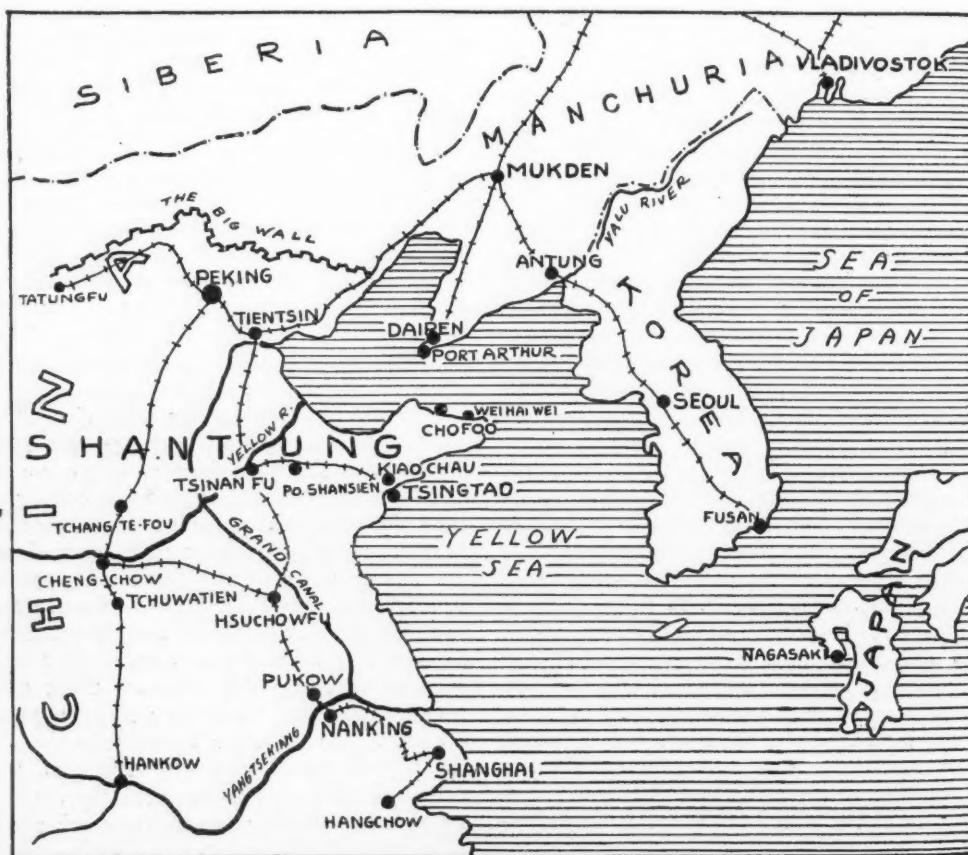
Shantung is one of the largest and the most populous provinces in China. The eastern portion is a peninsula which juts boldly out into the Yellow Sea toward Japan for 200 miles. Lying within a day's sail of the nearest Japanese port, it presents a tantalizing prize for Nipponese cupidity. In area it equals a combined Pennsylvania and New Jersey; its population exceeds 40,000,000. In certain sections the human congestion equals that of Holland and Belgium. But, while those countries are industrial and the majority of their people are factory workers, Shantung is almost wholly agricultural. Only a small percentage of the population is employed in its primitive factories. The most noted production is the pongee silk, which is woven from the wild silk cocoons.

The whole of China reflects conservatism, but in no section is it more noticeable than in Shantung. The contact with Western nations has made little impression upon the masses. Most of us harbor the belief that pigtails, or queues, disappeared from China several years ago. In Shantung more than four-fifths of them still remain. In many villages a shorn head is a rarity. It is true that an edict to abolish the pigtail was issued a decade ago, but imperial and republican rescripts alike mean little. Each community—each province certainly—is a law unto itself. Only those national laws are obeyed which con-

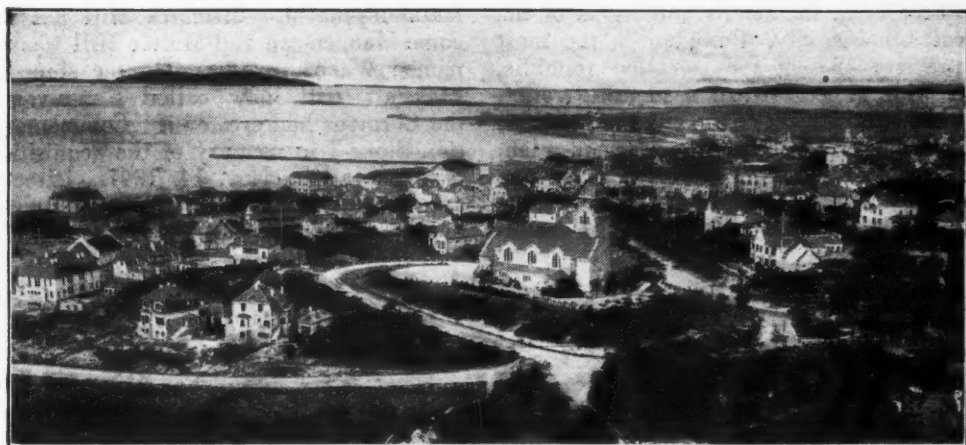
form to local sentiment. And so again, except in the Christian mission schools, it is almost impossible to find a single little girl of 9 years or older with unbound feet. This cramping process is usually begun when the child is only 5 or 6 years old. The smaller the victims the more they suffer. At first they spend most of the time in weeping, so we are told, and an old Chinese saying asserts that a bushel of tears has been shed for each pair of bound feet. It must be true. I have seen these little girls hobbling along on the heels and holding up the little bound toes. At times a spasm of pain passes over their faces as a misstep occurs. Yet the four-inch foot is still desired by the majority of the Chinese, even though the natural foot of the Chinese woman is extremely small when compared with the American standard.

Shantung first attracted international

notice in 1897. Its history simply records another violation of Chinese rights, with Germany in this instance as the aggressor. Because two German missionaries were slain by the Chinese the German Government seized Kiao-chau Bay, near the extreme end of the peninsula. The tragedy furnished the excuse to secure a footing on Chinese soil for commercial purposes. Long and enviously the German Government had gazed upon the successful appropriations by Great Britain and France in the Orient. Germany developed her concession with characteristic thoroughness. On this bay—one of the most beautiful harbors in China—she began to build the City of Tsing-tao, hitherto only an insignificant fishing hamlet. The city was planned generously, with wide streets and imposing public buildings, for which the sloping sides of the mountain offered ex-



Map showing the Shantung Peninsula of China



Tsing-tao, a city unlike any other in China because it was planned and built on modern lines by the Germans after they secured the Kiaochow concession in 1897. In 1914 it passed into the possession of Japan and has only recently been handed back to China

cellent sites. She also erected a series of forts and constructed great wharves and protecting breakwaters. At the outbreak of the war Tsing-tao was already a prosperous port.

The province abounds in mineral deposits which have never been greatly developed. The Germans secured a concession for their exploitation and the construction of a railway from Tsing-tao to Tsinan-fu, a distance of 256 miles, where a connection was made with the main line to Peking. The railroad was constructed and the mines were opened. Since the surrender of Tsing-tao in November, 1914,

after a ten weeks' siege, the entire concession has been controlled by the Japanese. As a result of the Washington conference of 1921-22, the Japanese guards were withdrawn from the railway in April. But the Japanese retained possession of Tsing-tao until December, 1922. The Germans may have expended ten or fifteen millions in gold and the Japanese a few millions more, but the settlement terms give Japan about \$50,000,000 in gold, an enormous sum for China to raise. Shantung has long been an incubator for bandits, and they are now seriously hampering the newly installed authorities.



Main street of Tsing-tao, Shantung. The buildings were erected by the Germans



Free from the smells and sights of the real Chinese city, Tsing-tao is the most attractive city in the so-called republic. Its wide streets afford a pleasing relief. In the enlargement of the city the Japanese Government continued the German plan. Block after block of new buildings can scarcely be distinguished from those erected by the Teutons. There is no resem-

Hazakura-machi. Bismarck Hill has become Mannen-zan and Moltke Hill was renamed Wakazuruyama. On the slope of Flagstaff Hill, now called Kan-o-yama, the Germans had erected a "Commemoration Stone" in memory of the acquisition of this coast on Nov. 14, 1897. Directly across the German emblem there appears today in Japanese characters the inscrip-



Some of the substantial homes which the Germans built in Tsing-tao for the use of their officials. The appearance of this street would never suggest that it is in China.

blance to Japanese architecture in this rapidly growing city. The harbor facilities have been greatly improved and many factories established. Incoming Chinese workers have swelled the population by many thousands. Because of the increase of wages at home, many Japanese manufacturers are seeking to commercialize the cheaper labor of China.

Few reminders of the German occupation remain today. The nomenclature of streets and hills has all been Nipponized. Bismarckstrasse and Wilhelmstrasse have been succeeded by Yokosufa-machi and

tion "November 7th, Third Year of Tai-sho" (1914). An imposing Shinto shrine, reached by a series of 120 steps and dedicated to the late Emperor Meiji, also adds to the Japanese atmosphere. Asahi Park is purely Japanese in its ornamentation, with avenues of cherry trees and great beds of the dwarf trees for which Nippon is noted. It also possesses a splendid granite monument erected in honor of the Japanese who fell in the assault upon the German forts. Japanese are seen everywhere in their characteristic garbs. The soldiers may go, but the merchants re-



Houseboats, or sampans, at Tsinan-fu, in the province of Shantung. Each is the home of an entire Chinese family. Overcrowding in the great cities of China has led to large numbers of the people living in homes of this description

main, for commercial salesmen followed on the heels of the troops. They have brought with them hundreds of geisha girls, who serve as entertainers in the tea houses. Wherever the Japanese are found, in Mukden, in Seoul, in Dairen, they have imported this genuine homely atmosphere. Only a few Germans remain, although some business men have since returned to re-establish business connections.

Tsing-tao promises to become the leading seaside resort of China. The broad sand beaches and the clear, invigorating air lure the seeker after health and pleasure. The very spaciousness appeals to foreigners, who feel cramped in the Chinese cities, even though they dwell in the foreign concessions. The blue of the waters and the bluer sky form a wonderful picture that remains implanted in memory. The serrated ridges and sharp peaks break the monotony of the endless Chinese plains. The streets are splendidly paved and there are many miles of good automobile roads. In China proper an automobile highway is unknown. The old German fortifications, once considered almost impregnable, but now in ruins, have not been replaced.

The average Chinese railway cannot be

recommended for comfort. The equipment is old and the service slow. The Shantung Railway is a pleasing exception. It renders the best service in China, unless one excepts the South Manchuria Railway, which also is operated by the Japanese. The railway was built with Teutonic thoroughness and the compartment cars are comfortable. The Germans planted many trees along the route, which contrast pleasingly with the denuded plains of Central China. In the long day's ride between Tsing-tao and Tsinan-fu the traveler obtains many delightful glimpses of Shantung life. The country is generally level and fertile. Mud villages dot the horizon in every direction. The farmers industriously cultivate the soil, not a square foot being wasted. In some portions, where water is plentiful, rice is cultivated. In the other sections the crop is wheat or rye. The great Yellow River crosses Northwestern Shantung and finally pours its turbid waters into the Gulf of Chihli. It enriches the province, but it has also wreaked tremendous disasters through overflows and the shifting of its mouth. The surrounding country is low, and embankments have been built up similar to those along the Mississippi.

But these precautions have not prevented the mouth from moving thirty miles from its former position.

At the land end of the Shantung Railway lies Tsinan-fu, a most interesting walled city of 300,000 inhabitants. It swarms with picturesque and malodorous coolie life and boasts of many Oriental allurements that charm the traveler, who never ceases to be enthusiastic. Although not visited by many tourists today, it may eventually become a popular place for seekers after the curious. Few Chinese cities are more fascinating. A magnificent wall surrounds the city, which is eloquent of the greatness of the past. There are several imposing gateways through which all traffic must pass. The flowing waters of welling springs assist wonderfully in the sanitation of the city both in cleansing the streets and the bodies of the inhabitants. Almost all the freight is moved in wheelbarrows. Some of the loads are thus conveyed distances of fifteen or twenty miles a day. Wheelbarrows also handle the passenger traffic. "My lady" frequently returns from her shopping tours with the bundles on one side and herself on the other. Half a dozen people may ride in front of a puffing and perspiring coolie. The wheel is in the centre of the barrow, which aids in balancing the load. If it is unusually heavy, another man or boy helps to pull by means of a rope or strap thrown across his shoulders. In a very few instances a mule is the assistant, but it requires a man to lead the mule. The man behind has the hardest work to do. The knotted muscles of the man's back and the tense expression of his eyes bear witness to the intense physical

strain under which he labors. The wheelbarrow is the cheapest method of transportation in China.

The congestion on the narrow streets of the old city of Tsinan-fu at times is so great that it is almost impossible for a ricksha coolie to force his way. Modern buildings are seen within the walls. The public offices are located in appropriated temples. Just outside the walls and near the railway station is a newer city built in the Japanese concession. The Germans never asserted any rights in Tsinan-fu. Only 3,000 Germans lived in the entire peninsula. But the Japanese sought and obtained additional privileges from the helpless Chinese. Although there were only nine Japanese in Tsinan-fu in 1914, 5,000 live there today. In the entire peninsula there probably remain 30,000 or 40,000, of whom the greatest number are in Tsing-tao. A few are scattered along the railway and at the mines. The Germans followed the policy of employing Chinese wherever possible; the Japanese pursue exactly the opposite policy.

It is not strange that the Chinese look with unfriendly eyes upon the Japanese because of their actions in Shantung. The Germans are remembered in a kindly way. The returning vanguard is welcomed. Had Japan entered the war with altruistic motive, she would have returned Shantung to China promptly. She awaited compulsion. It was learned at Versailles that she did not declare war against Germany until Great Britain and France had promised her a free hand in China. In a strict sense her participation was purchased. She must endure the odium that her actions have awakened.





# JAPAN UNDER PREMIER KATO'S LIBERAL REGIME

By GARDNER L. HARDING

The author of this article writes from first-hand knowledge gained as a special correspondent in the Far East representing leading British and American newspapers

*Abandonment of militarist policy since the Washington conference, reduction of naval and military expenditures, and greater attention to the people's social and educational needs the chief features of the present Administration—Growth of constitutionalism and a free press*

IT is no infelicity to say that what the Japanese have gained most in the year or more since the Washington conference is a new access of international intelligence. They themselves put forward the idea; Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato, liberal Premier of Japan, has gained a more widely founded reputation for breadth of view than any Japanese Premier in modern times, and he has gained it largely by stressing the far-sightedness of conciliation. His régime has been a singular epoch of better and more harmonious acquaintance with international ideas. Retrenchment of expenditures in Siberia, Shantung and China generally, and a growing reasonableness regarding Saghalien, have tended to introduce new ideas in the Japanese popular mind which had little lodgment there for a whole generation. Whether this development is to be but a brief interlude before destiny again forces Japan into the paths of imperialism and jingoism, or whether it is a transition step toward a still broader appreciation of Japan's responsibilities to the rest of the world, cannot for some time be determined. But the process—so far as it has gone—has left genuine marks on Japanese popular policy; and the road toward comity so far as Japan has taken it—so Americans believe at any rate—has not been traveled in vain.

It has not been easy to give up the "conquests" of the war which Japanese militarists constantly told their people were no more than their just share of the proceeds of the common enterprise. That

these conquests were at the expense of their allies rather than of their enemies was no part of the militarists' reckoning; but little by little the idea has gained broad currency among the Japanese people



BARON TOMOSABURO KATO  
Prime Minister of Japan; formerly Minister of Marine and one of the principal Japanese delegates at the Washington Disarmament Conference. He has held the rank of Admiral in the Japanese Navy

that spoliation is no longer a safe game to play, but one that leads to disagreeable prominence and to isolation. Also, the European pacemakers, who had provided Japan with the excuse of self-defense for her aggressions ever since 1898, made a series of self-denying compacts in the Washington agreements which could no longer be ignored. Japanese public opinion, consequently, has shifted its ground; the business community, the Diet, the press, educational and non-political leaders, and lastly, a sufficient number of the Genro and others of the "invisible Government" by which Japan is largely ruled, have stood behind the retrenchment policy of Baron Kato and have guaranteed at least its temporary success.

One factor that has during the last year been more significant than all others in the new Japanese policy is the fresh access of power and constructive criticism in the Japanese press. Great and independent papers like the *Osaka Mainichi*, the *Asahi* and the *Hochi*—the last of especial interest, for it generally favors the "out" party, the *Kenseikai*—as well as the dominant *Seiyukai* party's own organ, the *Chuo Shimbun*, the *Yomiuri*, the *Kokumin Shimbun*, and to a lesser degree the *Jiji* and the *Nichinichi*, have been treating Japanese public affairs for some time past exactly as if Japan were under a modern constitutional Government, with no traditions of press censorship, "invisible" interference in high political affairs, and a War Office control of foreign diplomacy. At no time in its history has the Japanese newspaper reading public had so much real news about their country, such enterprising, impartial and fearless news-gathering, and so respected a quantity of independent and unbought editorial opinion. The meretricious and the propagandist element is there, as it is in the press of the most enlightened countries, but it is safe to say that one of the unconsidered advances of real Japanese liberty in recent times has been the freedom of the press—and the justification by a thoroughly competent press that it deserves to be free.

The press, generally speaking, was for retrenchment on the Asiatic Continent long before Premier Kato put that policy into operation. The press is for international



PRINCE HIROHITO

Crown Prince of Japan, who, owing to the ill-health of the Emperor, was constituted Regent on Nov. 25, 1921

good understanding; its interpretation of the League of Nations is certainly as broad and well informed as the corresponding interpretation prevailing in America. The press attacks military adventure not only editorially; it sends skilled correspondents to fasten the blame on the real culprits for such an escapade as the "loss" of allied arms in Vladivostok, which later trickled through, in defiance of the international arms boycott, to Chang Tso-lin's army in Manchuria. Universal suffrage, whenever it comes up in the Diet, as it does annually, receives the overwhelming approval of the great metropolitan dailies, for it is their hundreds of thousands of readers who would directly benefit. In every reform the newspapers are ahead of the Government—that is, the general mass of newspapers, not the mere party sheets. The spirit they spread is a profound influence for enlightened progress, and has been an absolutely invaluable aid to whatever the Kato Administration has succeeded in doing.

#### ABSENCE OF ANTI-AMERICAN AGITATION

It is no inconsiderable tribute to their modern character that not for several years has anything like a "yellow" story from America gained publicity in the columns of a reputable Japanese newspaper such as those mentioned. There are bitter agitators in Japan, but amid the general proportions of the day's and the year's news they are lost. Their writings are particularly insignificant beside the fact that Japan had more correspondents at the Washington conference than any other visiting nation; and the reports they sent home, aside from a certain irritability over the Shantung question, left nothing to be desired as a fair transcript of the day-by-day proceedings of that conference. Almost the whole Japanese press united in recommending the ratification of the subsequent agreements and in the preparing of the ground for the completion of the tacit and expressed obligations of Japan. When it is remembered how large a proportion of the Japanese public read the papers, it should be no mystery to foreigners how Japan has until the present so faithfully fulfilled the agreements into which she then entered.

In addition to the support of so loyal



**BARON MAKINO**

Former Japanese Minister to Germany and Austria and a member of the Japanese Cabinet, holding at various times the portfolios of Education, Agriculture, Commerce and Foreign Affairs. He was one of the Japanese representatives at the Paris Peace Conference.

and so enlightened a press, Baron Kato has also enjoyed the advantage of having behind him a very large majority in the Diet. The elections of 1920, when Hara went before the public with the whole machinery of the Government party concentrated on increasing his majority, rewarded him with 282 seats out of a total of 464, and a good part of this ample heritage has descended to his successor and has vitiated the obstructive tactics of a much reduced Opposition. This majority made possible the very heavy naval reductions of last year and even enabled the Premier to cut into the army estimates more extensively than any political leader in Japan had ever dared in recent times.



The result has been variously estimated, but as things stand now Japan is probably saving more than \$70,000,000 a year through reduced military expenditures at a time when every penny of this money is useful in easing the critical situation arising from a process of deflation. The army is reduced, the conscript soldiers serve sixteen months instead of twenty-four, and the consequent increased productiveness of the nation adds to its real wealth. These reforms are a compromise, not between parties—for the parties in the Diet agreed generally on their terms—but between the parliamentary representatives of the nation and the Genro and other extra-parliamentary arbiters of fundamental policy; and in that sense they constitute an important victory for the constitutional principle.

A further and very important assistance to Premier Kato's Government has been rendered from the ranks of Japan's veteran statesmen. To cite an outstanding case, it is generally known that the influence of Viscount Makino, Minister of the Imperial

Household since 1921 and one of Japan's plenipotentiaries at the Versailles conference, has been thrown at several critical times on the side of the popular Ministry, and this influence has been largely instrumental in confirming the Kato Ministry in the belief that the Emperor inclines sympathetically to the carrying out of its program. Baron Makino, who was secretary to the great Premier Count Ito in other days and was himself Minister of Foreign Affairs just before the war, still wields a vast influence in Japan as one of the leading members of the Privy Council, so that his support is at once a tribute and a powerful assistance to the present Ministry. The Genro has been exceedingly restive under what it plainly deems an experiment in Utopian foreign policy; it has many friends in the lower house, even in the Ministerial party, and an impasse which will make the Kato Ministry impossible is not beyond its power, nor can it be ruled out of the contingencies of the immediate future. That it failed to

materialize during the forty-sixth session of the Diet recently closed was partly due to tempering influences within the Genro's own ranks as well as to the stout resistance offered by the popular forces. The Genro is no longer being recruited, as formerly of course, from the high ranks of the nation's great men; it remains a small and diminishing body. But in essence the position is the same, for the members of the Privy Council, the Court Council and a certain inner circle of the House of Peers constitute a secret group whose names and constituency are generally unknown, but who operate directly on Japan's real political policy through direct channels of power close to the throne. Consequently, the present policy of Japan enjoys a sufficient measure of its



P. & A.

A Japanese suffragette taking part in one of the numerous demonstrations in favor of universal suffrage. The appearance of a woman in a riding habit at the head of a parade in Tokio caused a considerable stir

approval, or at least of its consent, to justify some hope of its continuance.

#### REVIVAL OF BUSINESS

Economically, Japanese liberal policy is justifying itself with the business community, who see that the disastrous years of late are being followed by a revival of Japanese trade to something like the great promise it showed during the war. The year 1919 carried the nation to the peak of its foreign trade, with an aggregate value of more than 4,000,000,000 yen and a trade balance in her favor of 175,000,000. By 1921 it had dropped 2,866,000,000 yen, with an adverse trade balance of 361,000,000, but last year it returned to 3,528,000,000 yen, with the adverse trade balance down to 252,000,000. This recovery, in the midst of international tariff restrictions and in a period when Japan is showing better than any of her friends thought she was able, due to her far-sighted firmness in handling the deflation problem, is significant of the productive capacity of the nation under the present régime. The imports and exports reported for the first quarter of the year, remembering that Japan's silk business—her largest export business—moves heaviest toward the end of the year, show promise of again approximating the 1919 figures and of very greatly repairing the ravages in her trade balance. The nation's gold reserve, which reached the amazing amount of 2,000,000,000 yen after the war, has been held at about 1,800,000,000 yen early this year, or three times as large as that of its former overshadowing rival, Great Britain.

In China, it must be admitted, Japan has not been holding her own since the war. In spite of disturbed conditions, Chinese trade has gone on steadily increasing in bulk and in Chinese value through the fluctuating years following the war. China is the only important nation, strange to say, that can show such a record. Yet Japan's share in this trade dropped almost by half between 1920 and 1922, although Shantung was showing a phenomenal proportional increase, as might be expected. The results of the Shantung policy of provocation and ambiguity on the part of Japan, however, reacted enormously in China. In some districts of Fukien province, where Japanese territorial ambi-

tions were suspected by the Chinese, Japanese trade dropped so heavily as to show the most skeptical that politics played a part, and that the quiet instrument of the boycott, so irresistible an element in the Chinese economic armory, was unmistakably being employed. Here is a moving reason for Japan's change of policy, and within the past six months, when Japanese-Chinese relations have been better than for many years past, a very considerable growth of trade and a large increase of Japanese firms doing business in China have been noted. Particularly iron and steel, in which Japan tried so long to force China to agree to various formulas for a monopoly of supply, are beginning to flow freely again. Japanese industrial loans are supplanting the old political loans forced through by bribery, although the political loans have not entirely stopped. Japanese railway projects have ceased to have their strictly strategic character enfiling Peking from the South Manchurian line. Although the Chinese demand that this railway be returned together with Port Arthur and other lease extensions, and although the 1915 demands will not be granted by Japan, the friendly relations between the two nations, which at last give China some opportunity for "saving its face," are steadily improving under the present direction of Japanese policy from Tokio.

#### RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

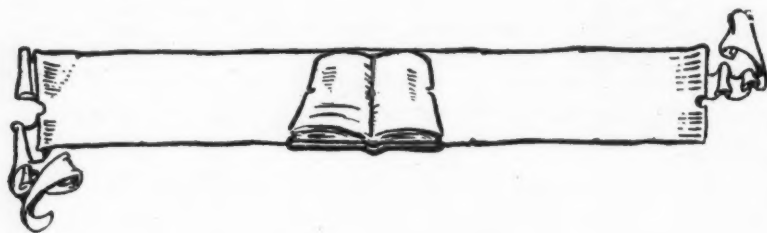
Japan's first steps for direct contact with Russia, taken a few weeks ago, will again bring up the problem of Saghalien, the northern half of which island is still held under Japanese military occupation as a result of the Nikolaievsk massacre of 1920. That episode, and especially the provocative mission on which Japan sent her troops where they were practically certain of being annihilated, is now ancient history. The future problem is the disposition of Northern Saghalien. Militarist Japan wants to retain the territory, with its greatly reputed oil deposits—already pledged by the Soviets to American concessionaires—as its own property. The great middle element in Japanese opinion appears to want to retain it peacefully, that is, by leasing it or paying for it outright in an agreement with Russia. No Japanese faction appears

to want to give it up, although this is the declared policy of the Kato Government. There are, however, many conflicting factors, not the least of which is the oil question. The Japanese Navy is prepared to put up a stiff fight rather than see the oil possibilities in Saghalien go to America or any other nation. According to certain tacit arrangements resulting from the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the Japanese Navy still buys the greater part of its imported supplies in England. There is still a close connection in other semi-political fields between Japan and Great Britain, and it is a grave question whether the growing Anglo-American conflict over oil properties, which rages below the surface in Burma, in the East Indies, in Mesopotamia, Persia, Turkey and Mexico, may not find another pawn in this unexploited, semi-Arctic island. How far Russia would go in promoting this rivalry still further by leasing Saghalien to Japan cannot be predicted; so far, the Soviets have staked their political prestige heavily on the unconditional return of territory that is still legally theirs. But there are other calculations, and the most moderating factor, Japanese liberal policy, has not yet taken any unequivocal stand on its willingness to return Saghalien free and clear to Russia.

Within Japan itself the Kato Administration has made itself popular by promising to devote a large proportion of the

money saved in military expenses to the extension of railway connections, to long-delayed telephone and other communications, to education, and to social welfare. It has also bid for Chinese favor by offering to return the Boxer indemnity, as well as \$7,500,000 from the Shantung transfer fund—\$30,000,000 altogether—for joint "educational and social purposes." Instead of hardly 2,000 Chinese students in Tokio today, it is planned to encourage student exchange, backed by Japanese institutions in China, that will bring to Japan, as normally there should be, the majority of Chinese students who seek a foreign education. Less than ten years ago there were 10,000 Chinese students in Tokio alone, and with better feeling between the two peoples this figure will be reached once again and probably substantially increased.

There are features of Japanese liberalism which are experiments in national evolution and there are others which are part of the permanently established closer relations of the post-war world. The foreign observer cannot distinguish between the two. But in both fields, Premier Kato has performed a great service for his nation, and has brought about its greatly increased standing in the world's public opinion with no diminution, so far as can be seen, in the real power of the Japanese people to fulfill their destiny.





# EVOLUTION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By CARL HOLLIDAY

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*The reasons underlying the uncompromising refusal of the United States at the fifth Pan-American Conference to permit the Monroe Doctrine to be independently controlled by Latin America—Origin of the Doctrine and notable examples of its application in American history*

THE recent discussion of the fifth Pan-American Conference, which closed at Santiago, Chile, on May 3, 1923, produced in the main, after six weeks of sessions, only negative results. Mutual jealousies and suspicions prevented a solution of the vital problem of disarmament. Of special interest to the United States was the failure of the attempt made by the Latin-American nations represented at the conference to enforce their interpretation of the historic Monroe Doctrine.

Uruguay's plan to have the doctrine adopted in principle by all American nations, and to set up an American League of Nations, which should co-operate with the European League of Nations under the protective guarantee of Article 21 of the Versailles Treaty, encountered the inflexible opposition of Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, head of the American delegation. Mr. Fletcher declared that the Monroe Doctrine was fundamentally a national and historic policy of the United States, which could neither be abrogated nor modified, and that the right to interpret and control this policy was vested exclusively in the United States. The firm and unyielding stand of the American spokesman, who acted under instructions from the American Secretary of State, made further discussion impossible, and the status of the Doctrine remained unchanged. The Latin-American nations won one victory; the Presidency of the Pan-American Union, automatically held by the Secretary of State of the

United States from year to year, was placed on a rotation basis, thus giving the Central and South American nations an opportunity to wield greater influence within the union than has hitherto been the case. This advantage, however, was overshadowed by the uncompromising rejection by the United States of the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine embodied in the Versailles Treaty, and of the Latin-American demand for extension of the Doctrine, and by the equally uncompromising declaration that the Doctrine was in effect a "unilateral national policy of the United States."

Thus, after a hundred years of acceptance, the Monroe Doctrine has been confirmed and emphasized as an unalterable feature of United States policy in the three Americas. Its importance remains unquestioned, but has it the same meaning as it had originally? This is a question we can answer by tracing the evolution of the Doctrine.

Undoubtedly a potential Monroe Doctrine may be found in the Farewell Address of Washington—that we have no entangling alliances with other nations, and that we abstain from interference in the jealousies, combinations and quarrels of European powers. For this, it would seem, implies the additional advice that such nations abstain from interference in inter-American affairs.

A more immediate source, or cause, however, of Monroe's declaration of policy lay in the serious republican revolutions

occurring in Europe in the early '20s. Napoleon's unbounded ambition had compelled European peoples to undertake joint action for their own preservation. The habit had been formed, and when the radical forces of Spain, Portugal and Greece had alarmed rulers of a strong monarchical tendency, these rulers, following the habit, planned joint intervention, joint campaigns, joint invasions, to crush such republicanism. And this idea of joint intervention, dangerous as it was to the Old World, seemed even more inimical to the welfare of the New.

When, therefore, at the Congress of Vienna, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia formed a union to hold Europe politically stable, and when at Paris as early as 1815 this agreement was reaffirmed and definite periods for similar conventions were set, the United States watched with anxious eyes a movement so hostile to free government.

At the first of these fixed meetings—at Aix-la-Chapelle, in October, 1818—it was expected that the troubles of Spain with her American colonies would be discussed; but the United States was assured that any tendency to advise the use of force toward the colonies on the part of nations other than Spain would be discouraged. Two years later, when the revolutions in Spain, Naples and Portugal caused Austria, Russia and Prussia to issue jointly a circular calculated to curb radicalism, and when Austria was given the task of suppressing the rebellion in Naples, England's disapproval of the whole plan was another encouraging fact to American statesmen.

The next meeting of the alliance was at Verona in 1822. Here, indeed, Spanish colonial troubles were taken up, and a secret treaty or agreement, as a revision of the Treaty of the Holy Alliance of 1815, was signed. This new document might well give alarm to all lovers of popular government. Its express purpose was that of suppressing all "radicalism," such as representative government and freedom of the press. Again England protested. But republicanism in Spain was crushed. At this point England showed her hand. She issued a statement declaring why Great Britain would not aid France in an invasion of Spain, and one portion of this

document pointed out that, with success in Spain, France might aid Spain to recover her American colonies. And England did not hesitate to state that she would resist such a move. Canning, spokesman for Great Britain, in a letter to the English Ambassador at Paris, disclaimed all intention of seizing for England any Spanish-American territory, but he was emphatic in his declaration that France would not be allowed to obtain such territory by conquest or cession.

#### ORIGIN OF THE DOCTRINE

Just here is where the moment of decision for America approached. As the invasion of Spain drew near a successful close, Canning, in August, 1823, invited Rush, the United States Minister at the Court of St. James's, to reach with him an understanding through which our nation might join with England to stop all such designs on the new South American Commonwealths. Rush, of course, was not prepared to give a definite answer. Again, in August, Canning, in an official letter, asked if the two nations might not reach such an understanding. Here once more he declared that Britain had no designs on the Spanish colonies but that his nation could not view with indifference their transfer to any other nation. He now proposed a joint public declaration to that effect.

It was an hour of temptation to the United States. Canning, however, was apparently ignoring the fact that our nation had already recognized the independence of the South American States, and Rush cleverly reminded him of this and of our desire that England also afford such recognition.

In these European movements, and especially in England's proposal, President Monroe saw gigantic potentialities for both good and evil toward our Republic. So concerned was he over Canning's proposition that he laid the whole matter before Jefferson and Madison. Both former Presidents gave it their deepest thought. Jefferson, in his reply to Monroe, wrote: "The question \* \* \* is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. \* \* \* Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle

ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs." But, he continues, England is now offering to detach herself from European affairs and to aid us in upholding this theory. The "object is to introduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. And if, to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body of the European powers and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it."

Jefferson, then, with all his experience and insight, seems to have favored such joint action. And Madison went even further in advising a declaration against foreign interference with the Greek struggle for freedom.

It is not a matter of wonder, then, that, with such advice, Monroe, at his earlier Cabinet meetings on this subject, strongly inclined toward such joint action. But in those meetings was one—John Quincy Adams—who fought with such stubborn zeal against such an alliance with Great Britain that the Cabinet at length recommended the policy soon to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Adams, with the backing of that Pan-American advocate, Henry Clay, was positive and explicit as to what should be done. "The ground that I wish to take is that of earnest remonstrance against the interference of the European powers with South America, but to disclaim all interference on our part with Europe; to make an American cause and adhere inflexibly to that."

It must not be supposed, however, that all credit for the decision should go to Adams. Canning's unwillingness to grant immediate recognition to these South American States had no small effect in the Cabinet deliberations. Late in August, 1823, Rush had again pointed out to him the desirability of such action, and once more, within the next three weeks, when Canning had urged Rush to the joint declaration, Rush had gone so far as to declare his willingness if Canning would immediately recognize these young nations. Canning, unable or unwilling to do this, then made a frank statement to the French Government, in October, 1823, that any for-

eign interference, by force or threat, with the Spanish-American countries would lead to British recognition of their independence.

In December, after Great Britain had appointed consuls in South America, Spain invited Russia, France and Austria to a conference to help the Spanish Government to adjust the affairs of the revolted colonies. It was in the midst of the preparations for this conference that Monroe's message, issued Dec. 2, descended upon Europe. It was, indeed, a message to more nations than Spain. It was a warning to Russia not to push her claims of 1821 to a large portion of the Oregon Territory. It, indeed, practically repeated Adams's words to the Russian Minister—that "the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." It was a warning to England that American problems should be settled by American nations.

The Doctrine is not a separate and distinct pronouncement, as is the Declaration of Independence. It is found in two paragraphs, widely separated in Monroe's message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1823. The first of these paragraphs deals with Russia's designs on the Pacific coast of this continent, and is simply a statement of fact that the American continents are no longer open to European colonization—a fact in that no territory in this hemisphere did at that time remain unclaimed.

But the genuinely important part of the Doctrine is in a paragraph near the close of the message—a declaration against any attempt to extend to America the devices and methods adopted by the Holy Alliance for the suppression of popular government in Europe:

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European



power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

Naturally such a policy was received with genuine favor by the liberals of England; Canning alone protested against the principle that America was no longer subject to colonization. But the result desired by the United States was obtained. The proposed conference for Spanish aid fell flat. Canning declared to Spain that in due season England would do as she deemed proper toward the South American States, "without further reference to the Court of Madrid." On Jan. 1, 1825, Canning announced that England had recognized Mexico and Colombia and had sent Ministers to those nations. Various other countries soon showed a similar friendly attitude; but Russia and Spain stubbornly held aloof, and not until ten years had passed did Spain give up claims on these South American Commonwealths.

There has scarcely been a year since the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine that it has failed to be before the eyes of the American public. Some of the reappearances of the policy stand forth as of tremendous import in our diplomatic history.

For fifty-one years, from 1850 to 1901, the principle proclaimed in the Monroe Doctrine clashed with the most dangerous and most obnoxious treaty ever made by the American Government. That agreement was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—a most lamentable break with the tradition created by Monroe.

It was the eighth article of this agreement with England—an article permitting joint action on the part of America and Britain in providing, supervising, and defending a canal route across Nicaragua—that was an inexcusable departure from our national principle. In the seizure of Greytown England possessed the Atlantic terminus of the proposed canal, and backed up this possession with the statement that her claim to Greytown long antedated the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1882 the problem reached an acute stage, when our Secretary of State, Frelinghuysen, pointed out that Great Britain had violated the treaty by converting her *settlement* of British Honduras into a *pos-*

*session*, without consulting the wishes of the United States. The Secretary declared that the treaty was merely a special agreement for a limited purpose not accomplished, and that the agreement should therefore be nullified by mutual consent. Moreover, it was maintained that "the formation of a protectorate by European nations over the isthmus transit would be in conflict with a doctrine which has been for many years asserted by the United States."

Stubbornly, however, England held to her point. In 1883 Lord Granville maintained that neither the Senate nor the Cabinet had thought that the Monroe Doctrine precluded the Government from agreeing to the treaty. All this time, moreover, England was carefully abstaining from any statement that she genuinely acknowledged or recognized the Doctrine. But, in season and out, American statesmen hammered home the import of it. Cleveland, in dealing with the canal route, stood solidly in his annual message of December, 1885, for the traditional policy. While he acknowledged the validity of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, he held that the "highway" must "be removed from the chance of domination by any single power."

England's conduct in territorial acquisition and control under the treaty was anything but praiseworthy; only cool-headed shrewdness and sparring for time prevented war from being the result of her interpretation of "aiding" in "defending" the Nicaraguan route. It was a happy day for American diplomats when, in 1901, the American Nation wiped its hands of the whole treaty.

#### VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Again, the Monroe Doctrine loomed large in the famous dispute over the Venezuelan boundary. There had long been controversy between England and Venezuela as to the boundary between the latter country and British Guiana. As early as 1840, British officials had marked with monuments a division line that Venezuela refused to recognize; but notwithstanding this warning, England repeatedly moved the boundary further into Venezuelan ter-

ritory. The American Government, on several occasions, offered its good offices, but England declared that there was nothing to arbitrate. At length, Grover Cleveland determined to force a settlement. Secretary Olney, as spokesman, forwarded to our Minister Bayard at St. James's a concise statement of the American view:

By the frequent interposition of its good offices at the instance of Venezuela, by constantly urging and promoting the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries, by pressing for arbitration of the disputed boundary, by offering to act as arbitrator, by expressing its grave concern whenever new alleged instances of British aggression upon Venezuelan territory have been brought to its notice, the Government of the United States has made it clear to Great Britain, and to the world, that the controversy is one in which both its honor and its interests are involved, and the continuance of which it cannot regard with indifference.

And again:

That America is in no part open to colonization, though the proposition was not universally admitted at the time of its first enunciation, has long been universally conceded. We are now concerned, therefore, only with that other practical application of the Monroe Doctrine, the disregard of which by any European power is to be deemed an act of unfriendliness toward the United States. The rule in question has but a single purpose and object. It is that no European power or combination of European powers shall forcibly deprive an American State of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies.

Lord Salisbury's reply, in November, 1895, declared that England had no intention of colonization in South America or of imposing upon any State of that continent a new political system. But, what was of far more importance, he expressly denied that the Monroe Doctrine was or is any part of international law, and further denied that "American questions are for American discussion" only.

The positive tone of both parties made the matter extremely serious; but Cleveland, fully realizing the possibilities of war, boldly laid the whole subject before Congress in December, 1895, and reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine. After pointing out that if a European power extended its boundary into the territory of a South American republic, that foreign power certainly thus attempted to extend its system of government into that republic, the President stated: "This is the precise ac-

tion which President Monroe declared to be 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise." Cleveland moreover recommended that Congress appropriate funds for an investigating commission, and further declared it the duty of the United States, no matter what the consequences, to see that the findings of the commission were carried out.

There followed, not only at home but abroad, almost brutal criticism of Cleveland; but there can be no doubt that his theory was and is correct—the theory that a State has the right to intervene in controversies between other States when its own interests and safety are threatened by such controversies. And, indeed, British statesmen must have felt the force of his arguments, for, in November, 1896, before the final report of the commission was in, England and the United States reached an agreement as to the terms of a treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela for arbitration of the affair. The award, it must be admitted, was not highly favorable to Venezuela; but, to the triumph of American diplomacy, the Monroe Doctrine was upheld.

#### CHALLENGED BY GERMANY

A third occasion when this policy or principle was put to the challenge was in 1902, when Germany cold-bloodedly, deliberately tested it to the uttermost. Germany, England and Italy, in their effort to force payment of certain financial claims of their citizens against the Venezuelan Government, had determined upon a joint naval demonstration along the coast of the republic. In 1901 the German Ambassador to Washington had frankly placed these claims before the United States and had just as frankly outlined the plan of the demonstration. He disavowed, however, any intention of territorial acquisition.

Our Secretary of State, John Hay, thanked him for his candor, but in doing so called his attention to the Rooseveltian utterance of Dec. 3, 1901: "We do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the ac-

quisition of territory by any non-American power." Several months later Germany announced that the three powers would establish a "pacific" blockade along the Venezuelan coast. But the United States declined to recognize a pacific blockade that would adversely affect a third party—namely, ourselves. As a result the three nations announced a formal blockade, and in so doing deliberately created a state of belligerency.

The war fever ran through the national life of America. For a time it seemed as though we must fight or renounce forever our national doctrine. But actual conflict was prevented by our American Minister's persuading Venezuela to recognize *in principle* the claims of the three nations and to consent to the referring of the claims to a mixed commission. England and Italy readily agreed to this, but Germany stubbornly refused to consider such arbitration. It was at this point that Roosevelt "laid down the law" to the German Ambassador and declared that the American Navy positively would prevent foreign possession of Venezuelan territory. Roosevelt went even further. He gave Germany but forty-eight hours to agree to arbitration; the German Ambassador used but thirty-six of the forty-eight.

#### THE CALVO DOCTRINE

Like other South American republics on various occasions, Venezuela was not altogether pleased with the "enforced protection" granted by the United States. Roosevelt had maintained that the Doctrine did not deny coercion of a nation so long as no acquisition of territory occurred; but Drago of Venezuela protested this theory and brought forth a restatement of the Calvo Doctrine, a principle laid down by Calvo, the South American authority on international law. This Calvo theory is, in substance, that *no State has the right to use armed intervention to force the payment of private claims against another State*. It may be said that this doctrine practically triumphed; for thirty-nine powers did at length agree not to use armed force against a debtor State unless such State refused to reply to an offer of arbitration or failed to submit to the award resulting from such arbitration.

In a different way the Monroe Doctrine has been put, in very recent years, to the test of criticism and even of denial. The intervention of the United States in Cuban and Porto Rican affairs and the purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark aroused the fears of our South American neighbors that the Doctrine was to become a policy of imperialism. There is, however, no conflict between such intervention or purchases and the principle laid down by Monroe. The Doctrine is not a self-denying theory. As its main object has always been the peace and safety of the United States, any purchases by us to that end are not a contradiction of its intent. President Wilson, realizing these fears, tried to allay them by declaring that "the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest," and his refusal to be forced into war with Mexico gained much credence for his promise.

Again, when in January, 1916, Wilson spoke before the Second Pan-American Scientific Conference, he once more positively declared the disinterested intentions of our nation when he stated his hopes that through frequent conferences, "patient, impartial investigation" and the early settlement of problems "by amicable process" the American States could guarantee to one another "absolute political independence and territorial integrity."

#### WIDENING SCOPE OF THE DOCTRINE

There are some general observations and indications of change of policy in the future that may well be added to this brief study of the famous principle.

The Monroe Doctrine has always been a purely executive policy. Congress has never expressly sanctioned it; indeed, the one attempt to have it endorsed by Congress—made by Clay a few weeks after Monroe had made the announcement—failed, while Clayton of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty declared that he could not expect it to be sustained by formal vote of Congress.

The Doctrine is, moreover, of a sort of "automotive" character. It does not at all call for our consulting other Ameri-



can States to put it into operation. It is a doctrine of self-defense; its authority is itself; its "excuse for existence" is not open to inquiry from other nations. And yet we have never been compelled to resort to force to uphold it.

This is the more strange, because it has not been a policy popular among other nations. Bismarck dubbed it "an international impertinence." Even though it has saved the South American republics from exploitation, it has not always been viewed favorably by them, and recently some of these nations hesitated to join the League of Nations because the Monroe Doctrine was named among its declarations. Because the Doctrine has been an open-door policy England has not been decidedly unfavorable; but with a change in her commercial viewpoint she might have fought the principle to the death.

Another noteworthy fact is that the Doctrine has changed but little. One of the greatest enlargements or expansions of it occurred in 1825, when Clay notified France that we could not consent to the occupation of Cuba and Porto Rico "by any other European power than Spain under any contingency whatever." Monroe had laid down the principle that the American Continent was closed to colonization by Europe, but he had not declared that sovereignty in America could not be transferred from one European nation to another. But Clay laid down the additional theory that such transfer was not allowed. Long years afterward Grant declared that "these dependencies are no longer regarded as subject to transfer from one European power to another."

Before the Rooseveltian days South America considered the Doctrine a *protective* measure. We had always followed the custom, for ourselves, of "hands off" until the misconduct of some Southern nation compelled us to come to the rescue. But Roosevelt held that since we could not permit Europe to punish South American republics, we must undertake the task of preventing their misconduct. He therefore demanded that they refrain from doubtful dealings, and, in spite of South American protests, his interpretation was followed by Taft and Wilson, especially in the cast of Porto Rico and Cuba. As

Roosevelt saw it, we could not stand by and see irresponsible governments make debts, and Wilson even went so far as to warn South American States not to grant to European corporations any concessions liable to cause international embarrassment.

Our policy, especially in the Caribbean, may have been at times a little too dictatorial and may have aroused that Southern fear which resulted in the formation of the A B C Alliance or Alliance of Argentina, Brazil and Chile. But through it all we have shown that this policy has not been a commercial one, but one to prevent the formation of spheres of hostile influence in this hemisphere.

In recent years the Doctrine seems to have gained a more whole-hearted acknowledgment from the world at large. Our participation in the first Peace Conference resulted in an enthusiastic declaration of other nations' support of the tradition. Here at home the insistence upon its protection seems constantly to grow. One of the principal reasons of opposition to acquiring the Philippines lay in the fear lest our invasion of the Eastern world should compel us to repudiate the Doctrine; while one of the chief points of attack by Senator Lodge in the League of Nations fight was the possible danger to the principle laid down by Monroe.

President Wilson, in his Senate address of Jan. 22, 1917, declared that he was merely proposing an extension of the Doctrine so that all great nations should cease to attempt to hamper other peoples in their legitimate policies. Lately there have been efforts to "Pan-Americanize" the Doctrine; but so deep a thinker as Root showed in his address in 1914 before the American Society of International Law vigorous opposition to the idea. His theory has been that, as the policy is for our own self-defense, each nation should and would declare independently what was best for *its own safety*, and not for the *safety of the United States*. The failure of the attempt to "Pan-Americanize" the Doctrine at the fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago was in effect a logical result of this interpretation, considered from the specific angle of the interest of the United States.

# THE DEPLORABLE STATE OF OUR INDIANS

By FRANCES A. BLANCHARD

*The American Indian, deprived of all civic and property rights, given land allotments too small for self-support, and forced to live in poverty, though possessing millions of dollars held in trust*

THE average American, seeing the prosperous-looking Indians who appear in the cities riding in their automobiles, and wearing their bordered blankets about their shoulders, has a comfortable feeling that the United States Government has solved the problem of caring for the earliest Americans, and that nothing is left to be desired.

Then he reads Government reports on Indian affairs and talks with some of the Indian leaders themselves, who have lived on the poorer reservations, and he sees another side of the story. He learns that in 1920 there were over 20,000 Indian children of school age who were not in school because of lack of facilities; that in spite of the millions of dollars expended in the past thirty years, ostensibly to educate the Indian to a proper standard of living, there are still thousands of families whose homes are hovels, shacks, tents and tepees; houses with dirt floors and log dwellings chinked with mud, not from choice, but from poverty. The reports show him that two dread diseases—trachoma and tuberculosis—threaten to destroy whole tribes. And he finds that by an act of June 25, 1910, these "wards of the Government" are the only people of the United States who can have their property taken from them without the judgment or decree of a constitutional court.

The work of the Indian Bureau, which is under the Department of the Interior, is complex and difficult of understanding, both to the Indian and to the white man. When the Government took over property and money of the Indians to the value of

\$1,000,000,000, it segregated them in small sections of the country called reservations, each of which was controlled by a Superintendent and a corps of subordinates, and promised that the interest of all these funds should be used for the direct benefit and support of the Indians, and that they should receive food, clothing, housing and care. It was over thirty years ago, in 1887, that the Government decided to make the Indians self-supporting men and women, and promised that when they became capable of holding property in the same manner as the white man they should receive individual grants or patents.

In spite, however, of the great amount of money which the Indian Bureau has expended in all these years for salaries for its officials, who now number 6,000 white men besides 12,000 Indians, the Indian is not advancing to any appreciable extent. The amount appropriated by Congress for the Indian Bureau for 1887 was \$5,000,000; the 1920 budget called for \$15,000,000. Disinterested authorities are credited with the statement that this lack of advance and increase of expenditure are due to mismanagement, and to a system unsuited to the object to be accomplished.

The story is told of a Sioux Indian who presented himself at the registration booth in the City Hall of Philadelphia to register for the draft in 1918. His fathers once owned a great part of the United States. All his inheritance he carried in his suitcase. He was asked if he were a citizen.

"No," he replied. "I am not a citizen."  
"You are an alien, then?"

"No," he answered. "I was born in the United States."

"What are you then?"

"I am an Indian. I have the rights neither of a citizen nor of an alien. My father was a full-blooded Sioux chief. I offer myself for military service."

The Registration Board finally recorded him as "Big Face, born in the United States, but not a citizen." He was accepted for service and went overseas. Upon his return he went back to the reservation to the same civil status he had held before. Such is the story of many of our Indian veterans of the World War.

#### THE INDIANS OF YORE

Miss Jane Zane Gordon, or, to use her Indian name, "Who-sho-no" (as the deer runs), a member of the Deer Clan of the Wyandotte or Huron tribe of Oklahoma, now working to establish an Arts and Crafts Foundation for the benefit of needy Indians, contrasts the present condition of her people with their lot in former times as follows:

In the old days the Indians were comfortable and happy. They had plenty. They could hunt and fish where they wanted to. They never went hunting nor fishing for sport. What they killed was for food or clothing. When an Indian went

on his long hunting trips he took along his wife to dry the meat, and to pick and dry berries. That was the time when they lived in the tepees, or wigwams. Most of the year they lived in log houses. The women cared for the gardens, too, because it was the man's place to supply the meat, and that took a great deal of time.

Now many of the Indians lack because their hunting grounds are taken from them, and they cannot live in the white man's way. The things they make bring small prices, and they do not know how to market them to good advantage.

The Indian gave to the white man many things he uses for food—the white and the sweet potato, the corn, the squash, the tobacco he smokes (and smoking was a religious ceremony with the Indian), the maple sugar and many other things.

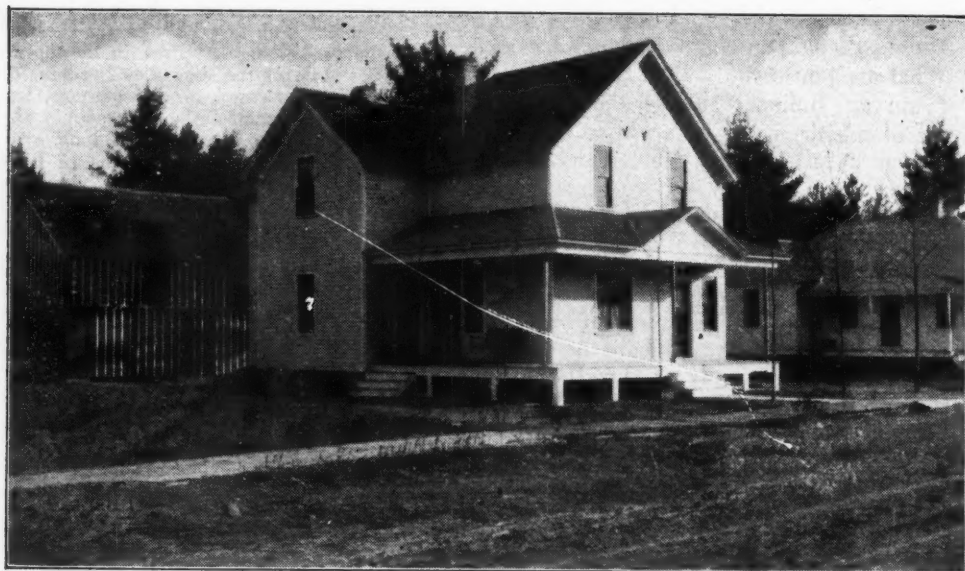
Among Indians there was no intermarriage with relatives. The young brave who came to the girl's door with presents of ponies must be from a clan across the campfire if he was to be accepted. Related clans sit on one side of the campfire. Those on the other side are not related to them.

Equal suffrage was universal among the Indians. The man never did anything without consulting the woman. She had intuition, the knowledge of the soul, the voice of the Great Spirit. She observed. She learned from nature. The Great Spirit never tired of doing good, and he taught her the way of the birds, the way of the ants, the way of the flowers, and she taught all this to her children. Everything that she learned was of use in caring for herself and her family. Much of the education of the white woman is wasted, but nothing that the Indian woman learned was wasted.



Session of the Tribal Council of the Flathead Indians with chiefs in full ceremonial regalia. The Flatheads are a combination of the Selish, Kootenai and Lower Pend d'Oreil tribes. The relative ranks and tribal affinities are indicated by the dress and decorations.





Home of Reginald Oshkosh, hereditary Indian chief, in marked contrast to the wigwam of his ancestors

There was great respect for the aged, too. They had been the long way of life. They had seen much. They taught lessons by stories, for the Indians were great story-tellers. They were full of art, too, and everything that they used in decoration had its own meaning. The Indian has much that is valuable to give the white man still. Here is a great power going to waste.

According to a speech made in the House of Representatives by M. Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania, who for two years served on the Indian Affairs Committee and during that time made an intensive study of reservation conditions: "The average Indian is not self-supporting, and as long as the present system continues he cannot become self-supporting."

Statistics show that when Congress passed the Dawes act in 1887, with the intention of giving the Indians individual homesteads and making them citizens, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported 243,399 Indians on the bureau rolls. In 1920 the Commissioner reported 336,337. This increase, however, does not represent any real increase in the number of Indians; it means, we are told, that the policy has been to get into the reservations all who were outside, for the larger the number under bureau control the greater the reason for increased expenditures.

Who are the 6,000 employes of the bureau, and what are their duties? The offices are divided and subdivided endlessly, but in general they include "scientists and laborers, Judges and policemen, accountants and blacksmiths, irrigationists and foresters, carpenters and chauffeurs, physicians and dentists, druggists and rangers, lawyers and farmers, teachers and messengers, stockmen and merchants, oil and gas experts, cooks, waiters and followers of every other vocation."

In all the thirty years of this carefully supervised system it would seem that the youth should have been educated so that they would now be self-supporting citizens, and that only the aged and infirm should need assistance. But the reports of the incomes of great numbers of Indians is startling.

Out of the 336,337 Indians enrolled by the bureau, 26,949 were engaged in industries other than farming and stock raising. These included basketmaking, bead work, pottery, blanket weaving, lace making, fishing, woodcutting and wild rice gathering.

Statistics are not interesting, but incomes are. Nearly 4,000 basketmakers had an income of less than \$25 a year. Two

thousand fishermen made less than \$80 a year. About 3,000 beadworkers had an income of less than \$20 a year, while 566 pottery makers made less than \$15 a year, and 1,300 wild rice gatherers made less than \$10 a year. The 5,500 blanket weavers did the best; they made about \$120 apiece.

For the 12,000 Indians employed by the bureau the yearly salary averaged \$130. Some 11,000 were employed by private parties, and these received an average of \$220. There were 40,962 farmers who cultivated an area of 890,700 acres, or about twenty-two acres apiece, and earned an income of \$110 for the entire year.

During the past ten years all timber cut under the supervision of the forestry branch of the Indian Bureau was valued at \$15,000,000, yet the Indian owners received an infinitesimal fraction of that sum for their direct benefit.

Several Superintendents have large timber and lumbering interests to supervise. It is said that on the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota the Indians get only a few cents per thousand feet for their timber, when it should be dollars. Capable Indians who have been timber "cruisers" have had their timber sold for them by Superintendents, who got for it several times less than they could have obtained themselves.

A number of Indian tribes have deposited to their credit in the United States Treasury vast sums of money, most of which has accumulated from the sale of lands. These are called tribal funds. Though the decisions of the Controller of the Treasury and the Circuit Court of Ap-

peals lay stress upon the fact that such funds should be held or expended for the benefit of the particular tribe to which it was accredited, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has construed its relationship of guardian as justification for the expenditure of tribal funds for administrative purposes.

The Indians frequently complain with tears in their eyes that some of the Superintendents who are put over them are most courteous and kindly in the presence of in-

vestigators who come, but are arrogant and despotic with the Indians themselves. The Superintendents have threatened Indians with jail if they drove the cattle of large lessees off their own allotments, when instead it was the duty of the Superintendent to protect his wards whose property was not leased against these large lessees. Indian payments are withheld by the agency, and upon asking for

information the Indian who may have traveled fifty miles to get his payment has the window shut in his face.

Though the Indian be rich in lands and have vast sums to his credit, the disposition of his riches, or the sale of his allotment, or the leasing thereof, or its terms, or his monthly allowance, or any request, regardless of his individual property rights, is subject to the discretionary act of some civil service employe.

The Probate Division of the Indian Bureau is probably the largest probate tribunal in the country. It is called upon to apply the laws of twenty States, and of the United States as well, in behalf of property rights involving many millions of



STRONG EAGLE FEATHERS  
A typical Indian chief



Workroom on one of the reservations where Indian girls are taught sewing and other useful household arts, under the guidance of white teachers and Superintendents

dollars. While the settlement of estates is pending, it is said that in frequent cases minor children and widows who may be entitled to considerable fortunes are left in want. In the settlement of one Omaha Indian, three sets of heirs had died in the time that adjustment was being made by the Indian Bureau, but the fourth lived to get some benefit from the property.

The Society of American Indians deplores the fact that the Indian children are expected to be educated in reservation schools, where all the surroundings are exclusively Indian. They are asking the Government to turn over the education of the Indian children to the Federal Bureau of Education, and to place all Indian children in public schools of the United States, where they may be broadened by contact with the most progressive minds of the country. The appropriation for Indian education this year is \$1,675,000, and in addition large sums are taken from the Indian funds that belong to the tribes. The Indian is quick to learn, for he has long been trained to observe. Even his contact with the world in his service during the war wrought a transformation in his character. It is not to be supposed that all the expenditure of funds for Indian education in the past has been futile. The general plan of the bureau and its aim have been to supply the kind of education

that would fit the youth for following some trade, and the young girl for making a comfortable, sanitary home, and on the reservations where there has been faithful service of teachers and Superintendents there have been remarkable results.

During the year 1920 the bureau distributed rations and gifts at a cost of \$367,081, and much of this was given to those who by right had large sums of money in the Treasury of the United States. The report of General Hugh L. Scott, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who investigated conditions among the Fort Belknap Indian Agency of Montana for the year ending June 30, 1921, is of interest here. General Scott states in regard to the crippled, blind and old:

There are now 140 old, crippled and destitute Indians receiving our rations. These are issued twice a month and are altogether insufficient for their support. The old people of both tribes, as well as those on the Blackfeet, Fort Washakie and other reservations, have been dying off at a very rapid rate. It is believed by many that this high death rate is caused by the lack of sufficient food. \* \* \* It is impossible for the blind, the aged and the crippled Indians to make a living, and the young seldom have anything to give them.

The ration which was given twice a month was as follows:

Two pounds of bacon, half pound of baking powder, two pounds of beans, ten pounds of beef



or horse meat, one pound of coffee, five pounds of flour, half pound of hard bread, two pounds of rice.

Though this might have been sufficient had it been handled by regular mess cooks in a competent manner, it was entirely inadequate as it was used in the homes.

Even the white people in this vicinity were aroused over the condition of the Indians. The bedding found in the houses was usually a mass of filthy rags, and the old people suffered from lack of warm clothing. There had been a severe drought in the Heart Butte district, where the full-blooded Blackfeet Indians lived, and many horses had starved to death, resulting in small harvests the following year.

A similar tale might be told of the Chippewas of Minnesota and of many other tribes.

#### LAND ALLOTMENTS

One of the questions which is constantly coming up before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives is that of allotments of land to indi-

vidual Indians. To go into an exhaustive study of the fulfillment of Government obligations to the different tribes would be tiring to the reader. One instance may be cited, however, which came before that committee in May, 1922. I quote from a letter written by Arthur E. Griffin of Seattle, Wash., and presented before the committee by L. H. Hadley, Representative from the State of Washington:

The majority of the reservations in Western Washington are entirely too small to allow allotments of the size provided for in the treaties, which was 160 acres to each, as provided in the sixth paragraph of the treaty with the Omahas. Some of the reservations were so small that but few acres, in one instance  $7\frac{1}{4}$ , were allowed to each Indian allotted thereon. The Indians at the time of the treaties knew nothing of the size of an acre of ground, and did not know that the reservations reserved for them were entirely too small for their use, or too small to permit allotments to be awarded them of the size provided for in the treaties.

Mr. Hadley goes on to state that these Indians have waited for sixty years to present their claims, and that they desire to select their own attorneys and not to have the selection made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The Society of American Indians, a national organization of Americans organized at the Ohio State University in April, 1911, after a full and exhaustive study into the results of the methods of the Indian Bureau as it is supervised by the Department of the Interior, has submitted suggestions for the reorganization of the Indian Service in a way that it considers to be efficient. It proposes:

1. That health and sanitation should be withdrawn from the Interior Department and transferred to the Department of Public Health.
2. That the Educational Division under the Bureau of Indian Affairs be withdrawn from the said Department of the Interior and transferred to the Bureau of Education.
3. That the Probate Division be withdrawn from the Department of the Interior and transferred to the Department of Justice.
4. That irrigation matters under the Bureau of Indian Affairs be withdrawn from the said bureau and transferred to the United States Reclamation Service.
5. That metalliferous and petroliferous possibilities under the said Interior Department be transferred to the Department of Agriculture.
6. That forestry under the Bureau of Indian Affairs be also withdrawn from the said bureau and transferred to the Department of Agriculture.



Woman of the Tewa Tribe of the Pueblo Indians, Arizona, engaged in pottery work

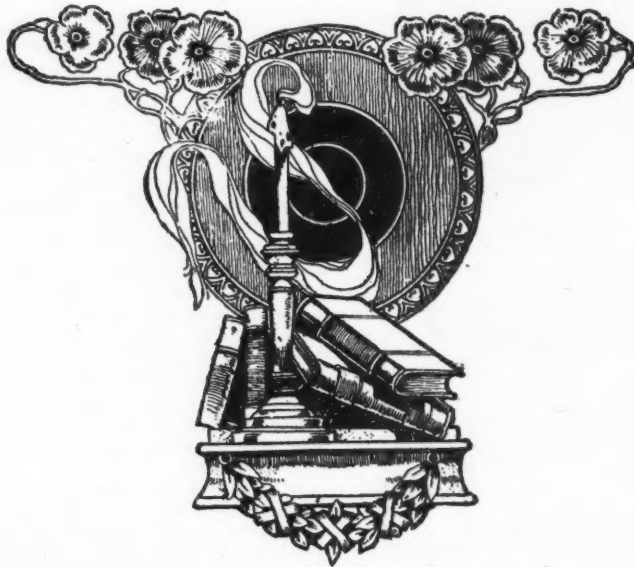
That the American Indian is loyal to the United States goes unchallenged. It is the only country he knows. The Indians fought by thousands to preserve the Union and free the slave. Ten thousand Indians fought with the American Army at Château-Thierry and the Argonne. No less than \$25,000,000 was furnished by Indians for the purchase of Liberty bonds to save a country in which they themselves were "aliens."

There are 60,000,000 acres of land in reservations, more than 160 acres for every man, woman and child of all those that now come within the bureau's control. Aside from the lands, the collective wealth would give to every Indian family of five the sum of \$10,000. Would every Indian work if all this land and wealth should suddenly fall into his hands? We can only question back, would every white man work if he unexpectedly became rich?

It was announced by the Federal Government on Aug. 26 last that plans to improve the conditions of Indians, with particular regard to health and education, were being worked out by Commissioner Burke, in charge of Indian Affairs, with

the approval of Secretary Fall, and that an increase in the estimates for the Indian Bureau would be asked for in the next Indian Appropriation bill. At the request of the Department of the Interior, the American Red Cross had assigned three trained nurses to the Indian Bureau for one year, as the first step in Commissioner Burke's program, with the object of studying and reporting on the conditions on the reservations and on the possibilities of employing women of a high type for nursing and welfare work. In addition, plans for enlarged school facilities to educate 20,000 children not now in school were being evolved. The details of these plans were explained by Commissioner Burke himself in a public statement issued at the time, in which he laid especial stress on the measures contemplated for the construction of one hospital on each reservation, to care for the sick, and particularly Indians that are very aged and infirm and without means or homes where they can be comfortably and properly cared for.

Nevertheless, the treatment of the American Indians leaves much to be desired, for their condition has not been improved in the way official utterances suggest.



# ONE MILLION DRUG ADDICTS IN THE UNITED STATES

By CLYDE LANGSTON EDDY, Ph. C.

Vice President of the American Pharmaceutical Association and of the American Medical Editors' Association; Chairman of the Committee on Education and Legislation, New York Branch of the American Pharmaceutical Association; Managing Editor The Druggists Circular, New York

*Solution of the problem hindered by the totally misleading ideas prevalent regarding the use of drugs—Drug-taking not a vice, but a disease—Narcotics necessary in medicine, but the habit often the result of medical or surgical treatment—A warning against professional reformers*

**A**DDICTION to the use of opium and the drugs obtained from it—morphine, heroin and codeine principally—is not a vicious habit indulged in only by a few weak-willed, selfish, pleasure-loving individuals. It is not an immoral gratification of the physical senses, a seeking after indescribable pleasures, a wicked habit that may be controlled at will. It is not a habit at all as we understand the use of that word. Opiate addiction is a disease, and a very terrible one from which none of us is immune; from which complete cures are comparatively rare, and from which upward of a million persons in the United States are suffering at the present time.

That there is a difference between addiction to cocaine and addiction to the opiates should be clearly understood at the outset. Every jailer of long experience knows, for instance, that the cocaine addict can safely be locked in a cell, deprived suddenly and completely of his drug of addiction and left to "kick it out" as best he can. The cocaine addict subjected to this lock-and-key treatment will suffer very great mental craving for the drug. He will be miserable in the extreme. The deprivation will cause him to suffer almost unbearable mental torture, but that is all. Nothing but beneficial effects need result from the treatment.

But in treating the person addicted to

the use of morphine or the other opiates, other curative measures must be resorted to. When suddenly deprived of his drug, the opium addict becomes at first restless, worried and depressed. Then his hands tremble uncontrollably and, as time passes, his eyes water, he sneezes, snuffles and yawns prodigiously. He coughs and chokes and suffers excruciating pains in his feet and legs. He becomes so weak presently that he cannot stand. He falls on the floor and writhes in convulsions. He vomits and doubles up with abdominal pain. His face becomes pinched and drawn. Perspiration rolls from his tortured body. He may die suddenly in complete collapse. Suicide sometimes terminates the unendurable agony.

These are the well-known "withdrawal signs" of addiction-disease. They are purely physical reactions. No one could, if he would, "imagine" for himself suffering as terrible as that. That the symptoms are not merely mental is shown by the researches of an Italian physician, Valenti, who produced withdrawal signs in dogs, and surely they could not be accused of having imagined that they were addicted to the use of morphine. Infants born of addicted mothers have shown all the signs of opiate withdrawal within a few hours after birth, having become addicted from the supply furnished them before birth by the blood stream of their addicted mothers.



There is now practically no difference of opinion among physicians who have made any considerable study of opiate addiction as to the constancy of the withdrawal signs. They are the physical symptoms of non-supply to the opiate addict. They are present whether the patient is an inherent degenerate, a neurotic weakling or a giant of physical, mental and moral strength, endowed with unlimited power to endure suffering. They can be explained only upon a basis of physical mechanism and material cause and effect. They are present in no other disease process, though they bear a striking similarity to overwhelming poisoning by ptomaines and other violent toxins. The symptoms are exactly opposite in their manifestations to the narcotic action of the opiates themselves.

#### OPIATES THE ONLY RELIEF

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the whole process of narcotic drug addiction is the fact that all of the withdrawal signs—the restlessness, the vomiting, the pains, convulsions and collapse—are almost instantly and completely relieved by the administration of any one of the opiate drugs, and by no other drug or chemical known to medical science.

The continued administration of the opiates apparently creates within the addict's body a mechanism of protection against the action of the narcotic poisons—a substance, an antitoxin, if you will, which counteracts the poisonous effect of the opiates while they are being given, keeping the addict's body in an artificial balance approximating normality, but which itself becomes a violent poison when the narcotic is withdrawn, producing symptoms which are at once relieved by readministration of the drug of addiction.

The thing is almost mathematical in its working out. Each addict has a constant sequence of symptoms attending the "dying out" of the drug, and those symptoms are relieved in constant reverse sequence by the administration of the drug and in exact proportion to the amount of drug administered. A small amount of morphine will relieve the symptoms last appearing; another insufficient amount will relieve another proportion of the withdrawal signs, and so on, until the amount

of morphine administered balances in amount the extent of the addict's deprivation.

The relief afforded by the opiates is so prompt, certain and complete that a person suffering withdrawal agonies will go to almost any length to obtain the required drugs. And, because his disease condition has not been fully understood, because he has been compelled to lie and steal to obtain sufficient quantities of the drugs without which his life is unendurable, the addict has been variously branded as weak-willed, untruthful, shifty and altogether unreliable and lacking in moral sense.

The opiate addict is no more careless of our laws than any one of us would be if equally driven by that sterner law of self-preservation. "The opium or morphine addict is not always a hopeless liar, a moral wreck, or a creature sunk in vice and lost to all sense of decency and honor, but may often be an upright individual, except under circumstances which involve his affliction, or the procuring of the drug of addiction," says a recent report of the United States Treasury Department. "He will usually lie as to the dose necessary to sustain a moderately comfortable existence, and he will stoop to any subterfuge and even to theft to achieve relief from the bodily agonies experienced as a result of the withdrawal of the drug. There are many instances of cases where victims of this disease were among the people of the highest qualities morally and intellectually, and of the greatest value to their communities, who, when driven by sudden deprivation of their drug, have been led to commit felony or violence to relieve their misery."

The newspaper-fostered notion that every narcotic drug addict is an immoral wretch, forever planning new crimes against society, is absurd. If it were true, we should be compelled to maintain thousands of special police to defend ourselves against the depredations of the million or more persons in the United States who, in a majority of cases through no fault of their own, are addicted to the use of narcotic drugs.

Contrary to popular belief, the average European or American, as opposed to the Asiatic, derives almost no pleasurable sen-

sation from the use of opium or its derivatives. Why, then, you may ask, Have a million persons in the United States become addicted to their use? Most persons, excepting of course the relatively small number of underworld hangers-on, and others who use heroin or cocaine because their associates do, become addicted to the use of narcotic drugs as the result of having morphine or other opiates administered to or prescribed for them by their honest, if insufficiently informed, family physicians. Take the case of a woman unusually intelligent, if somewhat emotional, well educated and cultured, who, five years ago at the age of forty-five, underwent a severe abdominal operation. While recovering from the operation, partly to relieve her pain and partly to remedy serious nervous symptoms which developed, she was given daily doses of morphine. She was not told that she was being given a narcotic, noticed no effect from it except that it relieved her pain, and never at any time experienced the pleasurable sensations generally understood to follow the use of the drug. At the end of six weeks, however, when it came time to discharge her from the hospital, and an effort was made to discontinue the morphine, such violent withdrawal symptoms manifested themselves that it was decided to continue the drug, in decreasing doses, during the period of convalescence, which was done. That was five years ago, and this woman, despite the fact that she has been given treatment for her addiction in three different sanitariums, and it has been found possible to reduce her dose to less than one-half grain of morphine per day, still is addicted to the use of the drug, her physical condition becoming so precarious each time a cure is attempted that it is impossible to complete the treatment.

There are thousands of similar cases. A patient suffering from the after-effects of an operation, or from the ravages of cancer or tuberculosis, is given morphine over a period of a few weeks or months, and addiction results. Until only a few years ago there were no laws prohibiting the sale of "patent" medicines containing narcotic drugs, and there are hundreds of addicts today who can trace their addiction direct-

ly to unfortunate efforts to relieve themselves of headaches or nervousness by the use of those nostrums. Heroin when introduced into this country, was heralded as a non-habit forming drug. It is an opium derivative and thousands of persons became addicted to its use before its true nature was discovered. Not a few veterans of the recent war are confirmed opiate addicts as the result of having morphine administered to them while recovering from painful wounds.

The Treasury Department report referred to is authority for the rather startling statement that "addiction to these habit-forming drugs is not restricted to any particular race, nationality or class of people. Any one repeatedly taking a narcotic drug over a period of thirty days, in the case of a very susceptible individual for ten days, is in grave danger of becoming an addict. And when addiction has been established, it is impossible for the individual to discontinue the use of the drug without outside assistance."

#### ADDICTS EAGER TO BE CURED

Writers of sensational articles would have us believe that the use of opium and its derivatives is a wicked, sensuous "habit," to which the degenerate habitué clings tenaciously despite a thousand efforts to "reform" him. The actual situation is altogether different. A special committee appointed by the New York State Legislature to investigate the narcotic drug situation reported, in 1917, that "the testimony of physicians coming in contact with addicts and statements of addicts themselves show that those afflicted with this disease express every desire to secure humane and competent treatment and care, and that most narcotic drug users are willing to undergo physical torture, and often do voluntarily undergo such torture, in an effort to be rid of their so-called habit."

In 1892 a student in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, threatened with a nervous breakdown from overwork, began taking nightly doses of morphine. He soon found himself addicted to the use of the drug, found that he could not stop its use, that he could not even greatly reduce his daily dose without suffering the very limit of mental and physical agony.

He finished miserably a college career that at its beginning was marked by unusual achievements. He tried heroically all the possibilities of cure that were suggested to him. He failed in every attempt because, at the last, he could not endure the hideous torture of the well-known withdrawal signs. Believing that his failure was due to lack of will power—and the availability of morphine—he determined upon a final desperate effort to relieve himself of his "habit." Accompanied only by an Indian guide, he buried himself in the Canadian woods. On the fifth day after leaving the final outpost of civilization he used his last dose of morphine. Then, after warning his guide that he was going to be very ill, he awaited results and the expected cure. At the end of the third day the guide could stand it no longer; packed his employer into a canoe and started back. A physician in Quebec saved his life, but could not at the same time cure his addiction. He is still addicted, a brilliant engineer, the inventor of mechanical devices which have brought comfort or safety to thousands of persons, the recipient of special honors from the Government for his contributions to the development of our war-time air service—dependent upon a precarious supply of narcotic drugs that reach him through devious channels, and unable to leave his home for even forty-eight hours at a time, on business of no matter what importance, because of the danger of failure of that supply.

Federal regulations make no provision for the supply of opiates to such addicts, compelling them to secure their drugs as best they can from underworld peddlers and others; nor are physicians permitted to treat them for a longer period than thirty days "outside of a proper institution." What constitutes a "proper institution"? In New York City, for instance, the non-criminal addict has the choice of two plans if he wishes to be treated for his addiction. If he has enough money he can go into a private sanitarium and have comparative comfort during his treatment. "If he has no money," to quote from an annual report of the New York State Prison Commission, dated Feb. 17, 1922, "he must go to prison for treatment. If

he offers himself to a Magistrate and asks to be sent to a hospital for treatment, he is sent to the penitentiary, where he is treated in all respects as those sentenced for crime; his clothing is taken from him; he is given prison clothing, finger-printed and put in a cell until transferred to Riker's Island. The only distinction shown him is that he is in a separate, overcrowded dormitory and eats apart from the criminal inmates and works and is punished, as indicated above, the same as if he were a criminal. What a furor would be caused if such treatment were given patients at any regular hospital!"

#### DRUG TAKERS IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE

Opium is no respecter of persons. Among the million addicts in the United States are preachers and prostitutes, Judges and criminals, doctors and patients, artists, lawyers, business men—representatives of every walk of life, every stratum of society. Given the right conditions—a painful illness, an operation, or even an automobile accident resulting in sufficiently painful injuries—and any one of us might easily be one of the addicted million twelve months, or for that matter as many weeks, from now. From 1 to 4 per cent. of all the people in the United States are addicted to the use of narcotic drugs. The special committee of the New York State Legislature estimated that there were 100,000 addicts in the State in 1917, and a similar committee in Massachusetts estimated that there were 60,000 addicts in that State in the same year. From figures furnished to the Treasury Department committee in 1919 it was ascertained that approximately 237,000 addicts were actually receiving medical treatment in that year, and it is certain that this represented only a small proportion of the total number of narcotic drug users in the country, as addicts of the "underworld," for instance, as well as addicts in comfortable financial circumstances, who have learned the futility of appealing to an uninstructed—or a regulation-fettered—medical profession for relief of their condition, secure most of their supply through illicit channels and rarely, if ever, consult a physician.

In "nailing a lie" to the effect that the



illicit use of narcotic drugs in the United States has increased 1400 per cent. during the past five years, and that the resulting situation is a serious one, the Federal Prohibition Commissioner was quoted in a Washington news dispatch of Dec. 26, 1922, as having said that while the narcotic evil is always "alarming," yet from a careful survey of the situation there seems to be no justification for the reports current as to its seriousness. "Prohibition headquarters," said the dispatch, "is authority for the statement that estimates by those in close touch with the situation place the total number of addicts in the United States at not more than one million." *Not more than one million!* One per cent. of the total population of the country—one of every hundred persons in the United States! While the situation is "alarming," says the Commissioner entrusted with the enforcement of the Federal anti-narcotic law, "there seems to be no justification for many of the reports current as to its seriousness."

It has been computed by the State Food and Drug Commissioner of one of the States having stringent regulatory laws that the average annual expenditure of an addict to secure necessary quantities of his drugs of addiction amounts to about sixty dollars. Upon this basis of cost of drugs alone, the addicts of the country annually pay over \$60,000,000 to be free from the dreaded withdrawal symptoms, most of this money going of necessity into the hands of illicit dealers, to whose financial advantage it is not only to exploit those who are already addicted, but constantly to create new addicts. In recent years, especially since the enactment of the Harrison law and the promulgations of regulations which, by forbidding a physician to treat any case of addiction-disease for a longer period than thirty days, have forced thousands of innocent addicts to resort to "underground" sources of supply, the illicit traffic has increased so enormously that at the present time it probably is as extensive as that carried on in a legitimate manner. This traffic is chiefly in the hands of so-called "dope-peddlers," who obtain their supplies by smuggling from Canada, Mexico and along the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts.

Other sources of illicit supply undoubtedly have been, and still are, unprincipled physicians and pharmacists—an irreducible minimum in both professions. But at worst, neither the physician nor the pharmacist, however dishonest, can divert to illicit uses more than a few hundred grains of the carefully regulated supply that passes through his hands in the course of a year, while the smuggler and "peddler" has at his easy disposal thousands of ounces.

The first, and perhaps the only, thing required in the solution of the problems of narcotic drug addiction is education—beginning with the doctors. That improvement is needed in the methods of instructing medical students in the care and treatment of addiction-disease is evidenced by the replies received to a questionnaire relating to the subject, recently sent to the medical schools of the country by a member of the committee on habit-forming drugs of the American Public Health Association. Of the eighty-five institutions queried, 37, or 43 per cent., replied. Among these replies were included the leading schools of the country. A brief review of the data so obtained indicates that the time devoted to the physiological, clinical and therapeutic consideration of opiate drug addiction averaged about two hours, and that in several institutions the subject was not considered at all. In twenty-five of these schools the subject was taken up only under materia medica or therapeutics in the second year's course and, in nine schools, under the consideration of nervous and mental diseases. Clinical material was almost entirely lacking, none at all being available in thirteen of these schools, while in the others the replies stated that opportunities to observe cases were "rare," "infrequent," or limited to an occasional case seen in the insane asylums or jails. The textbooks used were, with but one exception, those which teach the old "habit" and "vice" theories, and in which treatment is confined to routine procedures and "specific" formulas. None of the more recent experimental or clinical work was mentioned. It is little wonder, therefore, that only 425 public health officials informed the Treasury Department recently that the physicians in their communities regarded addiction as a disease,

while 542 of them reported that the medical men in their districts still looked upon it as a vice.

The special committee appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury declared in its report, in 1919, that the seriousness of the narcotic drug situation in many cases "is no doubt due to the more or less general acceptance of the old theory that drug addiction is a vice, or depraved taste, and not a disease, as held by modern investigators," and recommended that "educational campaigns be instituted in all parts of the United States for the purpose of informing the people of the country, including the medical profession, of the seriousness of drug addiction and its extent in the United States, and thereby secure their aid and co-operation in its suppression." This is an excellent recommendation which it is not too late to act favorably upon. What is needed is an educational campaign that would reach police officers, Judges and Magistrates, public health officials, professional reformers, members of legislative bodies and—ourselves.

Only recently the newspapers of one of our largest cities described the case of an addicted person who suddenly collapsed and died in court while awaiting trial. "Because of a weak heart," reported the police; "As a result of sudden withdrawal of the drug of addiction by incompetent and barbarous police officers," declared medical men who interested themselves in the case. A now well informed Judge in the same city frankly admits that he formerly looked upon all addicts as incorrigible violators of the law and judged them accordingly when, accused of criminal offenses, they appeared before him for trial.

"The Public Health Commissioner of the same city declared a few years ago that if he had his way every addict 'would be photographed, finger-printed and required to receive every dose of his drug at the hands of an employe of the health department.' Later, this Health Commissioner had his 'way.' A so-called 'clinic' was established in his city and narcotic drug addicts were invited to come to it for treatment. They were required, of course, to register and furnish suitable identification records. For weeks hundreds of persons suffering from addiction-

disease, men and women, old and young, of every nationality and walk of life, stood in straggling lines, herded by policemen, awaiting their turn to undergo humiliating and unnecessary identification. Respectable and respected men and women were forced to associate with prostitutes and panderers, and many of them there acquired their first knowledge of the peddler and his underground traffic. Here, side by side with the incurables and innocent, were the vicious-minded of the underworld. Inside at the registration desks their names, ages, addresses, their occupations and names of their employers were recorded by clerks who lost no opportunity to exploit their misery and insult them with impertinent questions and remarks. Hours of waiting in rain or shine was a matter of daily occurrence. Many of the addicts dropped from the lines in collapse or were forced to purchase needed supplies of drugs from the peddlers who, taking advantage of their opportunity, hung around the clinic with their wares. These long lines of addicted men and women were photographed and their pictures published in the daily newspapers as so many "dope fiends." The sight-seeing buses, loaded to capacity, passed slowly by while their conductors directed the passengers' attention to the "great and only dope line."

So far as professional reformers are concerned there is almost nothing to be said. The idea that there is any need for a class of persons who, for pay, go about from one legislative body to another advocating reform measures for the rest of us seems a little absurd. When those same paid reformers are seen filling soft positions created by the reform measures that they have championed, it is difficult not to suspect their motives. When it is found that the most restrictive legislative proposals with which we have had to deal—the measures that are inclined to drive the addict away from his family physician—have almost always originated with reformers who also are proprietors of sanitariums or home "cures" for narcotic drug addiction, one cannot help wondering why the professional reformer is probably beyond the reach of any educational program.

A way must be found to reach the sometimes over-credulous members of our State and Federal legislative bodies. Not long ago in New York State a member of the Legislature indignantly withdrew a narcotic bill which he had been prevailed upon to introduce when it was shown to him that the measure, ostensibly intended to benefit unfortunate addicts, would benefit proprietors of private sanitariums instead. It was concerning this and companion bills that a member of the State Magistrates' Association said later:

A bill introduced this year contemplated that all addicts be considered suffering from a pestilential and communicable disease, and another that all doctors be forbidden to prescribe and limited to administer only. The bills were intended to force all addicts into institutions. If we used every institution in the State of New York, we would not have room for them. I am decidedly suspicious, without making any direct accusations, that in some instances the men behind such bills have personal financial interests; interests in sanitariums that they want to promote, and there is a chain of sanitariums throughout the country. When a lawyer who has been a prosecutor looks at this situation and finds throughout the various States the same argument is used, couched in language indicating the same authorship, as to dispensaries, to Legislatures, and the same man appears, he commences to ask himself, Who is financing such advocacy propaganda? Who is behind it? And one cannot help being suspicious that in a large number of instances bills like the one I have referred to are fostered not for the well-being of society, but are promoted by the financial interests which some private sanitariums have—and those private sanitariums charge outrageous prices. If such laws went into effect, we would not have hospitals enough to accommodate the number of addicts. We would have panics. Addicts could not afford to pay the prices that institutions would demand.

These are possibilities that lawmakers should have in mind when discussing proposed restrictive narcotic laws which would take the addict out of the hands of his family physician and place him in those of the sanitarium keeper or illicit "dope peddler."

Finally, we must revise our own ideas of narcotic drugs and narcotic addiction. There is no difference of opinion among informed physicians as to the symptoms of chronic narcotic poisoning. The withdrawal signs or symptoms are now well known and inevitably manifest

themselves when an effort is made to withdraw the opiate drugs after they have been administered over a relatively short period of time. None of us is free from the possibility of painful illness or injury, and so none of us is free from the danger of becoming an addict. Is it not about time that we relinquished the subject as an unfailing source of sensational literature and gave it our serious attention as, perhaps, the greatest disease problem of the century?

Police officials, health commissioners, legislators and uplift workers, stirred to increased activity as a result of recent startling disclosures of narcotic drug conditions in the United States, are urging international control as the cure-all and panacea for the situation. Such control is greatly to be desired, and it is probable that smuggling cannot be stopped along our seacoasts and national boundary lines until the other nations agree to curtail their production and exportation of narcotic drugs. But much remains to be done at home, and it is not likely that any solution to the problem will be found until more of us learn that opiate addiction is not a vicious habit but a definite disease process requiring sane, intelligent medical treatment. To stop illicit distribution suddenly, with more than 50 per cent. of the physicians of the country still adhering to the "vice" theory of opiate addiction, would only add to the suffering of thousands of innocent addicts who are forced by our laws to depend upon smugglers and peddlers for their narcotic supply.

It is necessary to be on guard against the individual who presently will rise up to demand the prohibition of opium and its derivatives. In the frenzy for reform which must follow the public's sudden discovery of the narcotic drug situation almost anything is possible. Be warned while there is time against the possibility of finding yourself one day in a hospital with a mangled limb or gallstones, or what not, pleading in vain for the quarter of a grain of morphine which, better than any other drug, brings relief from pain. It would be as intelligent to prohibit doctors prescribing strychnine or using chloroform, because overdoses of those substances are poisonous in the extreme.



# NEW PROBLEMS FOR MEDICAL SCIENCE

By DR. PETER H. BRYCE

A Canadian medical practitioner and public health officer for forty years, Dr. Bryce is also a penetrating observer of social conditions and a writer on both professional and general topics

*Despite the many triumphs of medical science over disease, doctors are confronted with other health problems due to modern ways of living—Professional abuses that call for criticism*

IN this age when all things mundane and supra-mundane are being subjected to discussion it would seem only natural that the subject of health and the doctors should come under review as in a recent article in CURRENT HISTORY. While it is the reviewer's privilege to criticise, we have a right to insist as a preliminary to discussion that, as in criticising pictures, the reviewer should at least have a real knowledge of art or of the subject that he is discussing. Bernard Shaw, who criticises doctors in general, is quoted, and we are told that the engineer is the real health officer and that yellow fever disappeared with the waving of his magic wand. The writer also adduces army statistics to show that the army medical men were much below the ordinary officer in intelligence, and the statement is made that it was only an insurance statistician who had the remarkable prescience to tell in advance the course of an influenza epidemic. We are further asked to conclude that diphtheria and tuberculosis have been disappearing during the last fifty years under the influence of modern sanitation, quite apart from the question of there being doctors or no doctors.

It is not necessary to be an apologist for any of the fashions and fads in modern medicine, or to attempt to excuse those incidental excrescences which have grown up in hospital practice or to justify the exorbitant charges stated to have been made by the "group physicians," in order that this discussion may be placed upon its

proper plane. The triumphs of medicine since the days of Aesculapius and his "Daughters of the Grove" have been too long recognized to require exposition. Amid all the absurdities growing out of ignorance of the true causes of many diseases the history of medicine illustrates that there has been through more than 2,000 years a more or less steady advance in the knowledge of the human organism and an increasingly intelligent application of remedies for the numerous ills to which humanity is heir. It may accordingly be worth while to have the progress of the last forty years briefly reviewed by one who, both as a practitioner and State health officer can recall the incidents of this period in which medicine has made more progress than in all the preceding centuries, and so let the layman judge whether the scientific physician has or has not been a factor in this progress.

In 1880 my professor of clinical medicine, I remember, said in discussing diphtheria, "If the child with membrane in its throat recovers, then the disease is not diphtheria." Within ten years its germ or real cause had been discovered, and in 1894 anti-toxin became its routine treatment. Up till then there had been no serious reduction in the mortality from this disease; within two years of its general use the death rate had been reduced by over 50 per cent. At that time the death rate in Ireland from this disease was scarcely one-tenth of that in London, though the Irish people, many of whom

lived in miserable hovels, had an enormous death rate from tuberculosis. Clearly some factor other than doctors had to do with this problem. It was in fact a question largely of congested housing conditions in cities, greatly increasing the dangers due to personal infection. I recall also the situation as it existed in 1900 before it was known that the *Stegomyia* mosquito was the carrier of the germ of yellow fever, and how up to that time all quarantine and other sanitary methods had failed largely in preventing the introduction of disease from one seaport to another; and further how after this, the simple method adopted of screening the room of the infected person to prevent his being bitten by a mosquito, which would become a carrier of the disease to another person, made the patient perfectly harmless. Even when the mosquitos still bred in the water-tanks, so long as they did not bite some infected person, they did not transmit the disease to others.

#### MODERN SECURITY FROM INFECTION

The writer in the article referred to states that there was no such thing as checking the spread of influenza in 1918, no matter what was done by doctors; yet it is true that through the prompt isolation of first cases, the placing of the sick in separate tents and the disinfecting of the dishes of military and other camps, outbreak after outbreak was stamped out in proportion as the isolation of first cases was complete. Had the critic lived through the eighties of the last century when cholera was present in the seaports along the Mediterranean, when Koch, Pasteur and a dozen others were studying its cause, and later discovered its germ and its method of propagation through water, he would have been able to appreciate the sense of security which we have today in the fact that not since then has this disease obtained a foothold in America, nor elsewhere where cities have learned to prevent the pollution of the water supply. This may be the work of the engineer; but it is the bacteriologist who tells him when the water is polluted. Had the writer really been acquainted with the terror, which was formerly roused by the very suggestion that the plague of the Middle Ages might

again spread from the seaports through its introduction from Asia, before we had learned that its germ is transmitted by fleas from rats, he would not have been unappreciative of the feeling of safety by those who are injected with the immunizing serum discovered by Haffkine. Still more, had he known of the chronic presence of typhus in the jails of the eighteenth century, in the sailing ships bringing emigrants to America or in the overcrowded slums of European cities, he would have been able to appreciate the enormous value which the discovery of the body louse as the carrier of the disease has been in enabling the physician and health officer to control its spread, as was abundantly shown during the recent war. Pasteur's triumph over hydrophobia, the practical extinction of smallpox, and the enormous reduction in the mortality from typhoid, were all due to the discovery of the germ by the trained physician or laboratory worker. They are such triumphs of medical science as not to be equaled possibly in any other sphere of human endeavor during the last half century.

To those who have lived through the last half century perhaps the most familiar example of the direct reduction of mortality and prolonged suffering has been in the case of tuberculosis, which includes pulmonary consumption, a disease which through history had been looked upon as incurable. Its germ had been discovered by Koch in 1882, and tuberculosis serum ten years later; but little had as yet resulted so far as its treatment went. Not till the days of the beloved Trudeau in America, and similar workers in Germany, in France and in England, was any progress made in dealing with this disease, which we have today learned to cure along lines developed by the trained physician. In nothing has his art obtained more remarkable results than in the degree to which he has been able to control both patient and treatment.

In no single disease has ordinary sanitation, quarantine or hygiene been to any great extent adequate to the task of seriously reducing the prevalence of epidemic disease until its essential cause became known. Then only through the work of many since Pasteur's time to the present

with the microscope and culture medium has the treatment of these diseases as well as their prevention been placed on a practical and scientific basis. We need scarcely refer to the triumphs over such terrible diseases as hydrophobia or endemic diseases such as typhoid, malaria or hookworm to illustrate the enormous value to the world of science in its application to the treatment of disease through the medium of doctors.

#### MEDICAL PRACTICE AS A BUSINESS

Referring to another phase of the question, which was especially stressed in the article referred to, it must be remembered in this connection that the complex social life of the people of America of today is a very different thing from that which existed half a century ago. Then the relative smallness of cities and the sparseness of population reduced enormously the dangers due to constant personal contact among millions of people, though in no small way lessening the fatal results of disease in those who were attacked. Much has been written and asserted with regard to the immunity created against various diseases by this constant human contact as in cities; but, whatever part this may play, the essential fact exists that with more than 50 per cent. of the population residing today in populous centres new conditions of living and new environments have exercised potent influences upon the people subjected to urban life. While it is true that mortality rates among such, in spite of adverse conditions, have been reduced some 50 per cent. in fifty years, owing to discoveries such as those mentioned, yet there has, on the other hand, been brought about another class of diseases, which we have grown into the habit of calling diseases of nutrition, which supply the harvest field in which the modern physician reaps only too abundantly.

Perhaps nothing has marked the last forty years more than the enormous drift not only to the cities but to the professions among which medicine probably stands today most prominent. Not only is the number of doctors relatively to the population increased, but their distribution has also been yearly more concentrated in the large centres of population.

Today there is an outcry in the rural districts of New York State for physicians, yet New York City is enormously overstocked with regulars and irregulars of every description who practice the so-called "healing art." With the advance of science it has been inevitable and indeed natural that specializing in some particular branch of medicine should have followed much to the advantage of the individual patient in many cases. But just as everywhere in business, the middleman has enormously increased beyond what is necessary the specializing of industries and at the same time raised the cost to consumers, so specializing in medicine has seen an increased cost to the sick as a logical result. Today the public have with much reason begun to place the doctor and the dentist with the lawyer as typified in Dickens's story of the Chancery Court. We think it only fair that abuses which have grown out of the enormous development of modern hospitals should form a proper subject of criticism, but in order to comprehend the situation the other factors which have entered into the problem must also be considered.

During the last thirty years not only have the hospitals in many of our States been increased five-fold, but the cost of their administration has also increased in almost the same proportion. Where ten patients were treated in hospitals in a year, today there are 100, while the curious fact exists that the mortality percentage rate has scarcely decreased at all within the hospitals, although the total for the whole community has, as we have seen, been greatly reduced. Has there grown up then in this enormous evolution of means for the treatment of disease a trust so common in other pursuits, or have there been evolved physical conditions due to the enormous number of persons resident in cities? Is the pace at which people live so different from that of even twenty-five years ago that we now have to deal with diseases which are dependent upon exhausted nervous systems and, incident thereto, with reduced normal functioning of the bodily organs, and, above all, with functional and organic nervous diseases which formerly were few and, indeed, in some instances wholly unknown? The



mere fact that the expectancy of life in persons over 45 years of age is rather less than it was twenty or ten years ago points to the fact that it is the problem of modern life in its environment which creates the problem that is forced upon us in this discussion.

#### EFFECT OF MODERN CONDITIONS ON HEALTH

Is it a fair question to ask, for instance, how far the multiplicity of doctors, nurses and dentists contributes to this problem? Do their needs create artificial conditions and indeed provoke imaginary diseases or give to diseases which are accidental and functional a reality which would have passed unnoticed in a former time and under simpler modes of life? We are inclined to think that the medical profession is not guiltless in this respect and

that doctors are almost inevitably forced to become subject to the same emotions, through suggestion, which are so evident in the hysteria of modern life. For the moment we see no great prospect of a change in the conditions until society as a whole passes out of the "jazz" period. When this will be, who knows? From "jazz" we pass to the sensational "movies," and today every newspaper is publishing and forcing by suggestion upon the attention of the people the dancing mania, where an individual, like the dervishes and savages in the dancing manias of the Middle Ages, goes on till exhausted. We are inclined to think that nowhere, not even in the medical profession, can a return to the normal be as logically demanded as in the daily press, since there alone can such idiotic performances be either promoted or prevented.



# HOW AMERICA'S IRRIGATION PROBLEM HAS BEEN SOLVED

By EDGAR LLOYD HAMPTON

The writer of this article has been for seventeen years an editor and publisher of newspapers on the Pacific Coast and is also the author of a number of books

*The remarkable story of the conversion of millions of acres of arid desert into prosperous agricultural settlements—An enormous addition to the wealth of the nation—Difficulty of making irrigation schemes pay overcome by the growing demand for hydro electric power*

THE irrigation of arid lands has always accompanied human progress. Even before America was inhabited by its present population, the practice was in vogue among the original inhabitants as among other peoples before the dawn of modern civilization. The various ruins of the Aztecs furnish evidence to indicate that this ancient people refused to leave their water supply to chance, for they led the waters of the Colorado, the Rio Grande and other prehistoric streams into the arid lands and so irrigated and made fruitful the soil of what later became New Mexico, Arizona, and other States.

In the United States, however, irrigation as we understand the term, is of comparatively recent origin, extending back much less than a century. Our Government records on the subject do not antedate 1860, although local history contains an earlier record than that—the year 1847 and a Mormon settlement in Utah. Modern irrigation in America had its birth here and among the early settlers of California and other Southwestern States, who saw the advantage of reviving and improving the former primitive practices of the Spaniards and Indians in an effort to reclaim and make fruitful vast areas that otherwise would have remained forever barren deserts. Such was the embryonic beginning of our modern system of irrigation; and that period, running through almost a half century of various and increasing struggles, may be said to have ended about twenty-five years

ago, when the National Irrigation Association came into existence. Until then, and even for some time afterward, our various reclamation projects moved with a proverbial slowness. In the beginning farmers, singly or in small groups, confined their efforts to the diversion of small streams over very limited areas. At that time the West was all but undiscovered; land was of little value; prices were inconsequential; and irrigation itself was a practically untried experiment. Moreover, no Government aid was available, and there was a very apparent lack of Government interest. Those who had at heart the future welfare of America's arid lands appealed in vain both to President Cleveland and to President McKinley, and both claimed not to understand the subject. Meanwhile land values increased; the price of farm products advanced; and the story of a few amazing examples of success under the alchemy of irrigation began to attract attention. Theodore Roosevelt, both as President and as private citizen, being conversant with the needs of our undeveloped areas, took a lively interest in the subject. Then came the promoter, followed by the irrigation engineer, and the general idea of irrigation in America had taken definite form.

Even in face of these facts the reclamation of arid lands failed to progress either rapidly or smoothly. The projects proved too large and unwieldy and, at that stage, far too hazardous for private capital. The list of failures ran to scores. Vast and



The Roosevelt Dam, near Phoenix, Ariz. The height of the dam is 234 feet, the length at top 910 feet, the thickness at base 168 feet and at top 20 feet. The reservoir holds 1,367,305 acre-feet of water and irrigates 219,000 acres of land in the Salt River Valley, Arizona.

beautiful dreams of deserts converted into proverbial Gardens of Eden refused absolutely to materialize. The fertile basins of a dozen Western rivers are still strewn thickly with the relics of huge irrigation enterprises to which success was denied, and although many of them have recently been revived under a vastly improved system the millions of dollars expended during the birth of the idea must be set down as dead loss.

It was the gradually acquired knowledge of the primary importance of reclamation as a basis for continued prosperity and the very apparent inability of private groups to carry forward this work that led to the introduction of the Reclamation act. This measure provided for the enlistment of Government funds in such projects as might require more than ordinary assistance. Passed in 1902, the Reclamation act marks the arrival of American irrigation at a point where for the first time it acquired a businesslike character. The inauguration of the movement upon a scale hitherto unattainable was now made possible. In 1914 the Reclamation act was

followed by the Extension act, which, due to a necessity that by now had become apparent, extended to the owners of irrigated lands an additional period of from ten to twenty years for the repayment to the Government of the various funds advanced against the different private projects. The Government itself thus entered gradually the business of reclaiming, or helping to reclaim, America's arid lands. Since the adoption of the Reclamation act, the Government has carried out twenty-eight extensive projects (of which three have been for the Indians), at a cost of more than \$250,000,000, while the Reclamation Department for 1920 reports 1,113,469 acres under Government administration, another million acres in process of development and an annual crop yield of 71 per cent. of the original quarter billion dollar expenditure. In addition scores of private, or community, enterprises have received assistance.

Under this system of Federal co-operation the reclamation of America's arid lands proceeds today with increased speed and confidence. Before 1860 the number of farms under irriga-



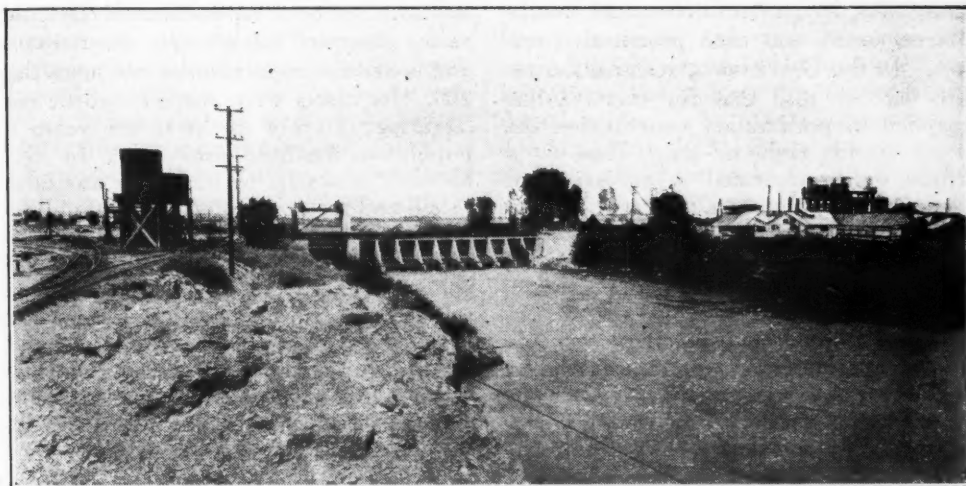
tion in the United States was 696, comprising 469,000 acres; in 1910 the acreage had increased to 14,433,285, while by 1920 the Government census shows 1,916,391 farms under irrigation, with an irrigated acreage of 19,191,716 and an area subject to irrigation under projected systems in excess of 36,000,000 acres. The present gross area under irrigation in the United States, all of which is the result of not more than seventy years' activity, represents one-fifth of the aggregate lands now being irrigated on the earth's surface. In addition we have many great projects in view, including the Columbia River project, which contemplates the reclamation of 4,500,000 acres of arid land, and the Colorado basin, with 7,000,000 acres, while bills in Congress and appropriations already provided furnish many hundreds of millions of dollars and include development in all parts of the country where irrigation is in practice.

Irrigation is in practice only in the western half of the United States. No reclamation district is recorded on the Government maps east of the Mississippi, and only two or three small enterprises are found east of the great tablelands of the Rockies. On the other hand, the twelve States west of the Rio Grande and Continental Divide, comprising more than one-third of the nation's geographic area, are largely, and some of them wholly, dependent upon the reclamation of land

through irrigation, not only for their present existence, but also for their continued prosperity, this fact being due to the existence of the vast arid plains which lie within their borders. Reclamation in America, from a geographic standpoint, is purely a Western problem. These Western States, boundlessly rich in volcanic ash, capable of undreamed-of achievements in agricultural productiveness, are those upon which we have expended so much of our Government funds, and which have already yielded the results mentioned. Yet Daniel Webster, at the time when an effort was being made to exchange with Great Britain the region west of the Mountains for the Cape Cod fisheries, stood on the floor of the United States Senate and, in behalf of the proposed measure, characterized that land west of the "Stony" Mountains as "a barren waste of prairie dogs, cactus and shifting sands, incapable of producing anything, and therefore not worth retaining." This attitude has not entirely disappeared, for there seems to be in progress at the present time, in certain limited sections of the country, a debate as to whether, in view of the continued uncertainty of world markets for the products of our soil, it would not be wise to stay the further development of our arid lands until our foreign markets have recovered. The advocates of this idea argue that the development of new agricultural possibil-



Head gate and main canal of a typical irrigation system



The Alamo Canal, the main channel through which water from the Colorado River is diverted into Imperial Valley. In this way 650,000 acres in California and 200,000 acres in Mexico are irrigated and enabled to produce crops worth \$90,000,000

ities in Western lands constitutes a deterrent to the Mississippi Valley farmer in the marketing of his products, just as it is contended by a few of our industrial chieftains that the development of hydro-electricity on the Pacific Coast—which nowadays forms the economic basis of all irrigation projects—might interfere with the trade of the New England manufacturer.

#### A BASIS OF NATIONAL WEALTH

Those who hold these opinions ignore certain important facts. First, no government dares to plan merely in terms of years; it must look much further ahead, thinking in decades, generations and even centuries. Second, it is the constitutional right of every citizen to take advantage of such new opportunities as may arise in an effort to better his condition, and it is the duty of the Government to foster, protect and aid him in the realization of these opportunities. Third, beyond this Government policy of building for the future and the inherent rights of the citizen to government assistance, there is this larger economic fact: that whoever increases the productiveness of the soil and the consequent value of acreage and its improvements adds to the sum total of national wealth, and so augments the strength and power of endurance to the Government as

a whole. The silver mines of Nevada—the famous Comstock Lode, and others—developed by our intrepid pioneers, met, in the early sixties, a grim emergency, almost wholly financing the Government during the progress of the Civil War. How often have the wheat fields of the Middle West—purchased from France and donated to American husbandmen—met a European famine at the gates of our Eastern seaports, thus adding to our national popularity and helping to relieve world suffering! During the disastrous conflict of recent memory those millions of Western acres which, forty years ago, were uninhabited deserts, helped largely to feed and clothe the world, and made many other useful contributions to the cause of democracy, including a few dozen ships and the now world-famous Rainbow Division. It should be apparent that no Government can afford not to develop its latent resources. Moreover, no Government, either in Europe or elsewhere, is hesitating in this direction at the present time; they all are extremely busy.

Wherever an irrigation project originates, it precipitates a flood of new and vigorous settlers. These settlers arrive on the ground, purchase or pre-empt such acreage as lies within their reach and begin a process of development, building roads, bridges and fences, houses and

barns, silos, irrigation ditches, and finally villages, towns and even prospective empires. In the Government reclamation reports we are told that for every dollar expended in preliminary construction the farmer spends eight or ten. Thus do a million dollars invested in an irrigation system quickly increase to eight or ten millions of capital, in addition to a very much greater amount accruing in terms of annual products and unearned increment.

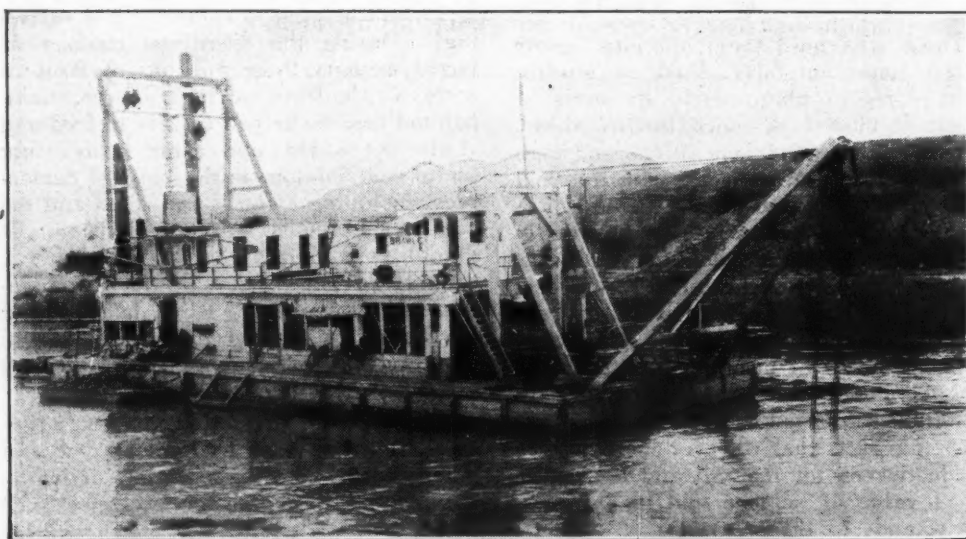
As an illustration not only of the increase in population and improvements and the consequent increase in agricultural products resulting from the development of arid lands, but also as exemplifying the important addition to our actual national wealth, let us cite a few recent instances.

Consider first the Yakima Indian Reserve in Eastern Washington. This reserve—100,000 acres of drought-stricken desert, once optimistically valued at 50 cents per acre—was irrigated by the Government for the Indians. At the end of ten years its annual yield in crops passed \$7,000,000, the value of its lands had increased to \$200 per acre, and the assets thus created would reasonably approximate \$30,000,000.

To cite another instance: Palo Verde, 140,000 acres, lying along the lower Colo-

rado, in Southern California. In 1900 this valley possessed but a single desert ranch, and boasted a population of not more than 200. Its assets were scarcely worth enumerating. During the next ten years its population remained below 500. In 1910, however, a system of irrigation was established and the population began rapidly to increase. By the 1920 census it had reached 5,084. The valley today has 6,500 people, a half dozen prosperous towns, and has won several world prizes in agriculture. It produced last year \$6,000,000 of farm products, and represents potential wealth of certainly not less than \$40,000,000, all of which grew from next to nothing in the brief space of a decade.

Perhaps the most illuminating instance of all, however, is the story of Imperial Valley in Southern California. Here is a valley unique in all world history—a burned-out lake bed of prehistoric origin, the former bed of the Gulf of California, 1,000,000 acres in area, lying from 200 to 300 feet below the level of the sea. Twenty-one years ago it boasted but a single prospector's shack, for Imperial Valley was a drought-stricken desert, strewn with the bleached bones of both men and beast who, in an effort to cross its hot surface, had died of thirst. In 1902, after much preliminary effort, the waters of the



One of the large dredges used for keeping the lower Colorado River clear of silt. It is estimated that 120,000 acre-feet of silt are deposited in the bed of the river each year



Colorado were diverted for reclamation purposes into this ancient lake bed. Today Imperial Valley is perhaps the most famous agricultural area anywhere on earth. It has 650,000 acres under water and because of the climate and a highly modern system of irrigation, it raises from five to seven crops per annum, with a yield often \$2,000 per acre. It supports a score of thriving towns and villages; its population comprises 65,000 people, and last year it shipped one carload of agricultural produce for each man, woman and child of the entire population. The value of this yield was \$70,000,000, while the estimated potential wealth resulting from this application of Colorado River water to a drought-stricken, famished soil, is \$500,000,000. All this has been created out of a barren desert in a period of twenty-one years.

The Yakima and the Wenatchee districts in Eastern Washington, Twin Falls in Idaho and the Hood River country in Oregon are all famous areas which under irrigation have risen to great wealth out of regions formerly tenantless. The actual figures of their increase, although matters of conjecture, must run into hundreds of millions of dollars. Their aggregate population has climbed far into six figures; their towns have turned into thriving, modern cities; their farm lands often produce \$1,000 per acre, and sell at from \$2,000 to \$3,000. People everywhere know Hood River and Yakima apples and Wenatchee peaches and grapes.

#### INCREASED YIELDS FROM IRRIGATED LAND

The various reports of the Government Reclamation Service show that crops grown under a system of irrigation average in value about twice as much as do the crops grown upon unirrigated lands. For example, in 1920 the average of crops throughout the United States, including irrigated areas, was \$23.44 per acre; the average for irrigated lands alone was \$58.80 per acre. A specific case of increased yield, for example, is the Milk River project, Montana, an area of 24,332 acres, which under dry farming methods produced per year \$102,000, and as a result of irrigation produced \$760,000. Likewise, the Salt River proj-

ect in Arizona (under the Roosevelt Dam) produced last year \$96 per acre over 205,064 acres, a little more than four times the average for the aggregate American crop. This aggregate crop, according to the 1920 census, was \$14,755,364,894, of which yield \$4,755,000,000 is credited to irrigation. The economic importance to the entire nation of this steady progress in Western reclamation is also found in the various carefully compiled Government lists covering the expenditures of the people who reside in these various areas. The Chinook division of the Milk River project in Montana, for example, is a region comprising but 24,332 acres, with 260 farms and 7,800 population. In the year 1920 its Eastern purchases are listed by the Government as follows:

Dry goods, clothing, shoes.....	\$480,000
Lumber .....	290,000
Automobiles, trucks, etc.....	405,000
Groceries .....	990,000
Hardware .....	221,000
Coal, feed, flour and bags.....	648,000
Farm implements .....	114,000
Machinery and Supplies.....	20,000
Electrical supplies .....	8,000
Jewelry and miscellaneous instruments	30,000
Drugs and sundries.....	101,000
Cigars, etc. ....	24,000
Furniture .....	33,000
Other merchandise .....	98,000
Total .....	\$3,462,000

Other lists furnished by the Government run in a similar ratio and are equally illuminating. The significant fact is that a single minor irrigation unit boasting less than 8,000 population purchased in one year \$3,462,000 of Eastern manufactured products, or an average of more than \$440 for each individual in the district. What, then, might one expect from the millions of people who live and work persistently upon the 20,000,000 acres of the West's reclaimed areas? One might expect them to expend hundreds of millions of dollars annually, which is what actually happens. How much in the aggregate these people have expended in the building of their irrigation empires is a question that appeals to the imagination, but must remain unanswered. Likewise, the volume of wealth they have

created and added to America's sum total must remain a subject for speculation. Yet this figure certainly has passed into the billions. These people are primarily creators of wealth. Such cosmopolitan cities as Los Angeles, Denver and other Western centres of population would today not have even fourth-class Post Offices were it not for the wizardry of irrigation.

The repayment of the original cost of construction is still a serious obstacle in the path of progress, for it is an unfortunate fact that no irrigation project charged entirely against crops on the adjacent lands has been able thus far to liquidate entirely the original obligation. The burden upon the farmer is too great; the annual yield will not withstand so heavy an expenditure. This is the point around which the future welfare of all our reclamation projects centres. Fortunately, a solution seems to have been found. The forces of the entire universe are apparently working in support of the new discovery, for today throughout all the world electricity is king, and hydroelectric development dominates our industrial thought. A hundred American rivers run down hill to the sea, and when caught in great impounding reservoirs for irrigation purposes they will without great additional cost develop vast quantities of hydroelectric energy before they are permitted to make their final escape. The new and great idea in all modern reclamation is the harnessing of a river for the threefold purpose of flood control,

irrigation and hydroelectricity, with hydroelectricity paying the entire bill. The Columbia River project is planned along these lines, as are our various lesser enterprises. The most arresting example of this threefold idea is found in the huge plan now so well advanced along the path of realization to bring about the development of the Colorado as described in *THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, March, 1923. Secretary Davis, in making his preliminary estimate on Colorado development, at first reported the advisability of assessing 15 per cent. of the original cost against irrigation and the remainder against hydroelectricity. He later revised his figures to read 100 per cent. against hydroelectricity, and the electrical engineers of the Pacific Coast are unanimous in the belief that the demand for the product would justify even a larger expenditure than the one contemplated. Thus do we discover a single irrigation unit, under the new plan of development, achieving its ends without burden either upon the public treasury or upon the farmers within the area. This plan represents the policy now in practice wherever land is being irrigated in the United States, with an accompanying demand for electricity. Since the utilization of electricity has become so increasingly prevalent in our industrial and commercial life, it may be reasonably assumed that the problems of reclaiming America's arid lands has reached a practical and a permanent solution.



# SALVAGING HUMAN "WEAR-AND-TEAR" IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

Special Agent, Federal Board for Vocational Education

*The beginnings of a national system to prevent the hundreds of thousands of victims of industrial accidents from remaining helpless and hopeless dependents—Rehabilitation both a humanitarian duty and an economic advantage—Paupers converted into productive members of society*

ONE of the saddest by-products of our civilization is the industrial cripple. He is the human "wear-and-tear" of production. A mangled hand, an amputated limb, a twisted spine, or blindness—that is the price which he has paid for our prosperity. In all too many cases he is forgotten after his accident, and he drifts down to hopeless days of destitution and shameful dependence.

Until 1920 nothing was done by our Federal Government to meet this problem. Indeed, it was believed that nothing could be done. Most of the States had Compensation acts of one sort or another, but these acts did little more than carry the victim through the period of hospital care and convalescence. When the patient recovered, with his disability permanently set, he was turned adrift to face the problem of self-support. Few succeeded. Moreover, the great multitude of public accident and disease victims did not even have the aid of compensation.

The vastness of the problem may be seen from official accident statistics. Incredible as it may seem, the number of men and women who are struck down by accident in American industry every year exceeds the number of casualties of the American Army in the entire World War. The United States Department of Labor recently published statistics showing that the number of workers who suffered from industrial accidents in the year 1921 (with eight States not reported) totaled 1,317,090. In the year 1920, when employment conditions were more normal, the number of industrial accident victims was 1,636,-

316. Insurance experts estimate that the number of public accidents exceed industrial accidents in the ratio of 2 to 1. If that be true, the number of annual disabilities in the United States cannot be less than 4,000,000.

The most galling thing about the accident is not the disability itself. To be a cripple is bad enough, but to be a dependent cripple is worse. The greatest bitterness is the discovery that he has lost his power to earn a living. All adequate remedies for disablement must frame themselves upon this fact. Happily, the Government has found a remedy for economic disability.

During the war period it was discovered that a wounded soldier could be vocationally retrained in such a way as to overcome his disability. If he had lost a leg he could be taught to do sedentary work in which he developed manual skill. If he had been blinded there were trades, such as broommaking, basketmaking, and piano tuning, which could still yield him a livelihood. If he had lost a hand he could be provided with an artificial substitute with which he could master certain trades. This retraining was called rehabilitation. It worked successfully in the case of the disabled ex-soldiers, thousands of whom were rescued from a prospect of life-long pauperism by being trained as self-reliant craftsmen. The ex-soldier experiment taught us that rehabilitation could solve a yet broader problem. In 1920 Congress determined to apply the same policy to the greater body of civilian



disabled workers. In that year there was enacted what is known as the Industrial Rehabilitation act. Machinery was set in motion to extend the same kind of vocational retraining to the great army of America's disabled industrial veterans.

The Federal aid plan was used. The act provided that the actual work of rehabilitation should be conducted by Rehabilitation Departments to be set up by each State. To encourage the organization of such departments Congress placed in the hands of the Federal Board for Vocational Education an annual appropriation to be apportioned among the States for rehabilitation. Each State should receive its quota on condition that it appropriate an amount of State funds equal to the Federal grant. The Federal funds available for the States in the first year amounted to \$750,000. This was increased to \$1,000,000 the second year, this being the present figure. Under this stimulus the States were prompt to set up rehabilitation machinery. Six were already engaged in some form of rehabilitation work in connection with their compensation departments. Since the passage of the act a total of 36 States have accepted its provisions and embarked on the rehabilitation enterprise. Of the remaining States the majority are considering legislation for the purpose, so it is only a question of time before all the 48 States have enrolled themselves in the system.

#### SAVED FROM PAUPERISM

A typical rehabilitation case illustrates the methods of administration. Tony, an Italian youth in Boston, had been employed as a construction laborer. An opportunity opened for him to learn the trade of a baker. He had been working at the bakery only two weeks when, in a moment of carelessness, the sharp knives of a mixing machine caught his hands, both of which had to be amputated. Tony's compensation amounted to only \$500, which he expended on artificial hands. He came out of the hospital helpless to earn a livelihood. Pauperism loomed before him. His case was brought to the attention of the State Rehabilitation Department. The disability of the loss of both hands is the most difficult problem in rehabilitation. The difficulty was ac-

centuated in this case by the fact that the youth was almost illiterate. However, Tony was given an occupational survey by the agents and it was determined that he could be trained to be a construction foreman. The co-operation of a building contractor was enlisted and Tony was placed on a construction job as a toolroom clerk. Here he quickly responded to his opportunity. With his artificial hands he soon invented ingenious ways of caring for his tools. While his employer is taking a personal interest in training him in construction details the Rehabilitation Department has placed Tony in evening classes, where he is learning English, blueprint reading and practical construction. His progress has been aided by personal "follow-up" attention from the rehabilitation agents. The point of the story is that this unfortunate, who has now become both self-supporting and ambitious, would have found it impossible even to earn a livelihood had there been no rehabilitation service to aid him. In this case, as in thousands of similar cases, rehabilitation has transformed a public charge into a useful and productive citizen.

#### AID FROM OUTSIDE AGENCIES

It is the custom of the States to enlist the co-operation of outside agencies in meeting many of the problems of rehabilitation. Many cases of disability which came to the rehabilitation offices must first be physically reconstructed before training is attempted. Surgical services are needed, prosthetic appliances must often be bought. In the strictly rehabilitation appropriations there are no provisions for such expenses. Therefore, in practice, the rehabilitation departments work in close co-operation with the State Compensation Boards, as well as with private philanthropic agencies.

A case of unusual interest which illustrates the possibilities of combined physical and vocational rehabilitation is that of Graydon Jeffries, of Dayton, Ohio. A young man of 21, Graydon had been pathetically helpless with ankylosis of the hips, knees and ankles since the age of 12. His hips were locked and he was unable even to sit down or move about with crutches. Naturally, he had never attempted any kind of employment, and he

had been unable to secure surgical treatment. His case was almost unprecedentedly hopeless. In this condition he was brought to the attention of the rehabilitation officers. The assistance of two noted orthopaedic surgeons was invoked and, under treatment, the young man soon began to show marked physical improvement. At the same time he was given an occupational survey. It was discovered that he had unusual artistic aptitudes, and he began to study to become a commercial artist. A special chair had to be constructed for him, as his disability did not permit him to sit down. A successful commercial artist is giving one and one-half hours of instruction each day to Graydon and his progress has been rapid and enthusiastic. During the period of training he is being maintained by funds supplied by the Red Cross. The joint efforts of his helpers, thus enlisted by the rehabilitation department, are achieving the miracle of restoring this most difficult case to usefulness and self-support.

There are no hard and fast methods of rehabilitation. Each case presents its own difficulties and requires its own solution. Individual study is given to each, and when once a disabled man is inducted into training, the rehabilitation agents painstakingly follow up his progress until he is permanently settled in satisfactory employment. The State of California reported last year a total of 104 different objectives for which handicapped men are being trained. For the country as a whole the kinds of training are still more varied. Some seemingly impossible occupations have been mastered by trainees. In one State there is a record of a one-armed steeplejack. In another, a blind man has been trained to press clothes in a tailoring establishment. In Pennsylvania there is a one-armed man who boasts that he is the only one-armed blacksmith in the United States.

#### A GOOD START

To date, probably 20,000 men and women have passed through the rehabilitation offices of the States. The Federal Board for Vocational Education reported at the end of the fiscal year 1921-22 a total of 17,089 cases of disabled persons handled by the rehabilitation agents dur-

ing the year; 15,407 of these cases represented new registrations for the year. While the total is slight in comparison to the vast eligible field, it represents work accomplished during the confusion of initial organization. Moreover, it is the report of only thirty-four of the States. Officials of the Federal Board declare that the States are now beginning to feel the real momentum of growth. Even last year the new registrations showed an increase of about 300 per cent. over 1920-21. At the close of 1921-22 the number of cases on the live rolls was 8,147. Today, six months later, it is reported that they have mounted to 15,000. It is evident that the rehabilitation service has practically completed its organization stage and is ready for a big spurt of expansion. Some rehabilitation experts have predicted that it is not unreasonable to expect that the States will be carrying a live roll of 100,000 cases in a very few years.

#### OBJECTIONS TO FEDERAL AID

The question of appropriations is an acute one. The present Federal Rehabilitation act, with its appropriation, is operative for only four years. We are now in the third year, and legislation will have to be passed by Congress before June 30, 1924, to renew the Federal grants. However, the rehabilitation program in the States is affected by the current wave of reaction against the whole "Federal aid" method of appropriations. There has been discontent in the Legislatures of the different States against Federal appropriations which are offered to the States on condition that they be matched in amount by additional State appropriations. It is charged by critics of this system that "Federal aid" is swelling the fixed charges of Government to an intolerable magnitude. Recently the United States Chamber of Commerce conducted a referendum of its membership for an expression of their attitude toward the "Federal aid" system as applied to education alone. The returns reported in the preliminary canvass showed 527 votes in favor, with 1,200 votes opposed. The Chamber thus expressed itself in opposition to the "Federal aid" policy by a two-thirds vote. Against such a ground swell of sentiment, the rehabilitation service must win its case

in securing continued support from Congress and the Legislatures. Leaders in the rehabilitation work, however, do not anticipate that the reaction against "Federal aid" will extend to rehabilitation. The work of salvaging the economically helpless is, they assert, an investment rather than an expense. It presents economic possibilities which eclipse its cost.

#### THE ECONOMIC RETURN TO THE COMMUNITY

Last year the rehabilitation staff of Ohio prepared statistics showing that the total average cost to the State of every completely rehabilitated man was \$137.36. At such a slight expense, the State was restoring to productive employment men who would otherwise be lifelong burdens upon society. To realize the inexpensiveness of rehabilitation to the States, one has only to check the \$137.36 cost against the earning power of the rehabilitated man for the rest of his life. Within the first year there is the probability of an economic return to society of several times the cost of his salvage. From this standpoint it is clear that public appropriations for rehabilitation are a singularly good investment by our Legislatures. During the hearings before Congress at the time of the passage of the Rehabilitation act, it was estimated by one of the experts that there were, in the United States, 280,000 men and women permanently disabled by industrial accidents alone. On the conservative assumption that the return of this great army of dependents to employment would mean an average productivity by each of \$500 a year, it was brought out at the hearings that the total increment of the national income would be \$140,000,000

per annum. In reality the dependent victims of public accident and disease, all of whom are eligible for rehabilitation, would multiply the estimated 280,000 to a much higher figure. The rehabilitation officials have the support of a large body of business opinion in the belief that rehabilitation is an economic advantage as well as a humanitarian duty to the State.

Some years ago a great audience of people assembled in the New York Hippodrome to listen to the then famous Michael J. Downing. They were thrilled at the spectacle of a man who, as a mere boy, had suffered the amputation of both legs, one hand and the fingers and thumb of the other hand, and who, nevertheless, had lifted himself from the condition of a public charge upon a Minnesota county to become an honored and wealthy citizen. They came prepared to hear the explanation of a miracle. To his audience Downing gave the simple formula of his feat. "I transferred my thoughts from those things that were gone to what was left," he said. "There is only one really unsurmountable handicap, so far as I can determine. That is the loss of the inner power which we call the mind. Our bodies—what do they count? A good deal, of course; and yet a man may be worth \$100,000 a year from his neck up and not a dollar a week from his neck down. I have not a whole body, but what there is of it is sound and healthy. I am happy." It is this mental attitude which is making possible the "come back" of the men and women who are enrolled in our growing rehabilitation system. But they have one incalculable advantage over Michael Downing and the pitiful sufferers of the past. In their struggles they now feel the helping hand of their Government.





# BRAZIL YESTERDAY AND TODAY

By EUGENE SEEGER

Formerly Consul General of the United States  
in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Mr. Seeger has for many years devoted himself to the study of conditions in Brazil, and is preparing a book on Brazilian culture

*The historical significance of the Brazilian Centennial celebration—How Brazil gained her independence from Portugal in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and became a nation—A story filled with romance and dramatic interest—Brazil's progress and difficulties today*

THE Brazilian-American Centennial celebration, which opened in Rio de Janeiro in November, 1922, and was still continuing at the time when these pages went to press (its close is scheduled for July), constitutes an important chapter of latter-day Brazilian history. It shows the wealth of Brazil's natural and industrial resources, the plenitude of her economic development, side by side with the exhibits of all the large nations of the world, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, representing in the aggregate an imposing display. The contemporary and actual interest, however, cannot obscure the underlying historical significance. This centennial evokes memories of the past centring around the creation of the Brazilian Republic.

The history of Brazil's rise to independent statehood is filled with romantic episodes of absorbing interest. The wheel of nations revolves swiftly, and most of the world today has forgotten that the political independence of Brazil was almost exclusively the work of the Masonic fraternity. That work was inspired by the idealism of José Bonifacio (his full name was José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva), often referred to as the "patriarch of the Brazilian Republic," organizer and first Grand Master of the Freemasons of Brazil.

José Bonifacio was born in 1765, of respectable, well-to-do parents, in Villa de Santos, then a little town in the State of Sao Paulo. His early departure to Portugal was inevitable under the conditions

then obtaining. The Portuguese Government did not find it worth while to establish common schools in its miserably governed and brutally exploited Brazilian colony and prohibited higher institutions of learning there in order to force talented young Brazilians to come to Portugal and to study at the semi-medieval University of Coimbra, where the Government could keep them under its influence and control.

José Bonifacio spent his adolescence there studying geology, mineralogy and mining. He was considered an uncommonly talented young man of great promise. He went to Europe in 1790, and, in view of what fate had in store for him, his arrival there was providential. After that epidemic insanity which obsessed the French masses and culminated in the atrocities of the French Revolution, creating commotion and abhorrence all over Europe, a healthy reaction began which led to earnest work for reconstruction and reform. It was a great and interesting epoch. José Bonifacio, liberty-loving, impressionable, had a chance to observe events from close proximity, and his later career in Brazil, where he created a free and independent State out of a chaotic Portuguese colony, demonstrated how well he had utilized his opportunities.

After finishing his studies in Coimbra, he went to the mining academy of Freiburg, in Baden, Germany, which even at that time enjoyed an international reputation. There he had the good fortune to become the assistant and friend of Abraham Gottlob Werner, who was considered the greatest

mineralogist and geologist of his time. Alexander von Humboldt was a fellow-student and he and Bonifacio also became warm friends. He also formed intimate relations with a prominent mining engineer and much more prominent statesman, the famous liberal reorganizer of Germany after her downfall and humiliation through the peace of Tilsit, Karl von Stein.

It is impossible to conceive that a highly gifted, earnest young man like Bonifacio could have intimate friendly relations for years with such broad-minded intellectual leaders as von Humboldt and Karl von Stein without being benefited by their influence. After a highly profitable stay in

Germany for several years, he went back to Portugal and was appointed Professor of Geology at the University of Coimbra and Inspector General of the mines of Portugal.

During one of Napoleon's predatory expeditions against Portugal we find Bonifacio at the head of a legion of students fighting in defense of their country. In 1812 he was elected permanent Secretary of the academy in Lisbon. He took a very prominent part in public affairs on the side of liberalism in Portugal; his activity was also very much appreciated in Brazil and had great influence on the leading classes there:



Publishers' Photo Service

The President's Palace, Rio de Janeiro



DOM PEDRO II.

Born 1825, he became Emperor of Brazil in 1831 and reigned until 1889, when he was dethroned. He died in 1891

The most effective political agitation in those times emanated from secret clubs, because it was not always safe and desirable to be known as an opponent of the powers that be. In Portugal as well as in Brazil the lodges of the Masonic Fraternity became very influential. Bonifacio was a prominent Mason. The dissatisfaction of the intellectuals with the Portuguese Government (or virtually with regrettable conditions over which that Government had little control) was general, and this explains why the Masonic lodges there at that time, which in fact were mainly secret political clubs, were all actively, if secretly, in opposition to the Government.

#### RISE OF FREEMASONRY IN BRAZIL

A number of Freemasons had already gone from Spain and Portugal to South America, especially since Dom Joao was made to emigrate to Brazil by his English friends to get him out of the clutches of Napoleon. But there were as yet no lodges, either in Buenos Aires or in Rio. In the Spring of 1812 the first Masonic lodge (Lautara, named after a well known Indian chief of the West Coast) was established in Buenos Aires and on June 24, 1815, the first lodge in Rio (Commercio e

Artes) was founded. Others soon followed, not only in Rio but in Sao Paulo, Bahia and Pernambuco, and the Masonic fraternity became politically quite influential, being the only well-managed organization and embodying the best element of the country. The Brazilian lodges were in close communication with each other and with the lodge in Buenos Aires. Their program was so praiseworthy that nobody hesitated to endorse it: support of the needy, agitation in favor of public schools, sound morals, furtherance of agriculture and the industries, support of no ruler of a nation who did not owe his office to public acclaim. There was much reason to keep the latter point a Masonic secret.

On account of its many intolerable abuses there was a great deal of dissatisfaction in Brazil with the Lisbon Government, which often found vent in riots in the larger cities. Many Masons sympathized with the malcontents individually and fought against greed and corruption, and Masonry gradually came to be looked upon by many as revolutionary and republican. There is no doubt that in the formative epoch of the Brazilian nation, when the illiterate, uncouth masses and the black slaves, twice as numerous as the whites, became unwieldy, and when absolute rulers "by the grace of God" and their henchmen threatened the progress of the nation and the comfort of the citizens, the Masons exercised a powerful and highly beneficial influence.

When, in 1808, John VI. transferred the Portuguese capital from Lisbon to Rio, he became the benefactor of Brazil, which he modernized by means of government machinery brought ready made from home. He was a man of good intentions, but by nature and education an absolute ruler "by the grace of God" and he would not tolerate the least interference with his Government by anybody. But the liberal element, prompted and backed by the Masons, formed such a tenacious opposition that he quit and went back to Portugal (in 1821), leaving his son, Dom Pedro I., as regent. Dom Pedro was a young man of 24, bright, of the best intentions, but very impulsive and not steadfast.

On assuming the regency the first and



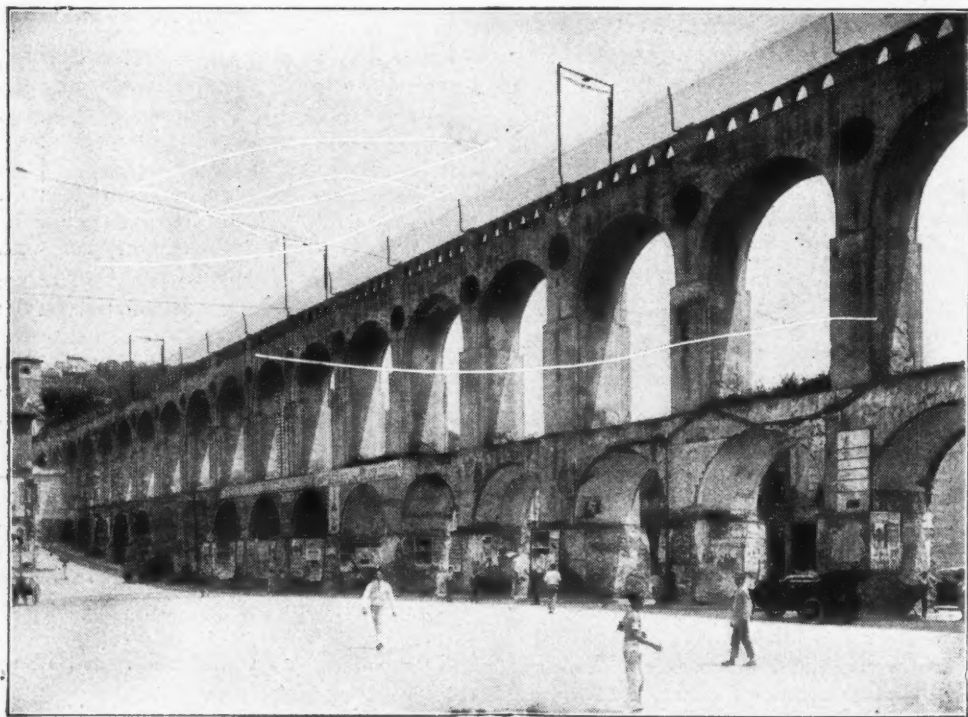
best thing Dom Pedro did was to appoint Bonifacio, who had come back from Europe two years before, after an absence of thirty years, as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Bonifacio had become the most influential and the most generally esteemed statesman in Brazil, and was peculiarly equipped for his responsible position. He was a thorough student of public affairs, a man of undoubted integrity, who possessed the courage of his opinions, great experience, literary attainments, a very congenial personality, and who, moreover, was an enthusiastic and influential Mason. After his appointment several new Masonic lodges were established in Brazil in quick succession. A Grand Lodge was created in Rio and readily recognized by the Grand Orient of France, England and the United States. José Bonifacio was the first Grand Master.

The new Government started as well as possible, but it was beset with serious difficulties. The want of ready money caused discouragement everywhere, espe-

cially with the young Regent, who saw himself handicapped, and would probably have returned to Portugal, if Bonifacio had not inspired him with courage and hope. In this endeavor he had the help of Princess D. Leopoldina, Don Pedro's wife, an Austrian Princess of the house of Hapsburg, who loved Brazil and believed in its future.

Troubles multiplied. As the English Tories and Anglo-Saxons of the American Colonies gravitated toward Great Britain, creating serious difficulties for the American patriots striving for independence, so in Brazil a serious conflict raged between the Luso-Brazilians—old Portuguese settlers, soldiers, sailors, contractors, and so forth—and the young native Brazilians, who were tired of being treated and exploited as Portuguese colonists and impatiently awaited an opportunity to gain their independence and build up a nation of their own.

The Portuguese Government feared this spirit and its probable consequences, and



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The Santa Theresa Aqueduct, Rio de Janeiro, built 120 years ago by Jesuits with slave labor

called Dom Pedro home. After serious debates with his friends and advisers, the young Prince in a public conference enthusiastically declared, "Fico" (I stay), which has since become one of the winged words of Brazilian history. This act of disobedience, information of which was immediately transmitted to the home Government, was the first step toward Brazilian independence.

Some months afterward, while Dom Pedro was visiting one of the suburbs of the City of Sao Paulo, on horseback, in company of many enthusiastic followers, a memorable scene occurred. A deputation had just arrived from Rio, with letters from the Princess and Bonifacio and an official document just arrived from Lisbon. These documents were handed to Dom Pedro. He turned aside to read them. The impulsive young Prince appeared much excited, got red in his face, and turning to his companions, tore the national insignia of Portugal from his hat and breast, and shouted: "Independencia ou morte"—which, in translation, is almost identical with the celebrated outcry of Patrick Henry, before the Virginia Convention of Delegates, forty-six years before: "Give me liberty, or give me death!"

#### DOM PEDRO PROCLAIMED EMPEROR

Not long afterward Dom Pedro I. was acclaimed, in public meeting in the open, with boisterous demonstrations of joy, as the Emperor of Brazil. This act made possible the support of the Freemasons, whose vows prescribed, as I have mentioned above, the recognition only of chiefs of nations who have been "publicly acclaimed."

As the Portuguese in Brazil and on the other side of the Atlantic frowned upon these proceedings, José Bonifacio arranged for the arrival of the English Admiral, Lord Cochrane, who had just finished his work in securing the independence of the Chileans, and gave him command of the incipient Brazilian Navy, with the order to clear Brazil of all armed Portuguese. This was done in a few weeks and represented the first stage in the evolution of the Brazilian State, a creation of the genius of José Bonifacio with the organized

support of the Masonic fraternity. The record does not omit the names of the martyrs who sporadically, here and there, in various parts of the country, gave vent to the impulses of their souls in outcries against iniquities and oppressions and were promptly delivered to the Portuguese hangmen.

The form of the Brazilian State preliminarily established, it now became necessary to supply it with a soul—a Constitution. This, of course, provoked new and bitter contentions between the Portuguese-Brazilian elements and the patriotic native Brazilians. Even the Masons were drawn into these disputes. The pro-Portuguese Masons stole a march on Bonifacio, the leader of the Brazilian patriots, by moving, in his absence, in the Grand Lodge, that Dom Pedro, the new Emperor, should be made Grand Master in place of Bonifacio, his Prime Minister. Though this was in accordance with the wishes of the latter, he did not like to be placed in the position of endorsing a measure which was originated principally to curtail his influence with the sovereign. Dom Pedro, however, became Grand Master of the Brazilian Masons.

A commission was appointed (1823) to draw up a Constitution for the new empire. José Bonifacio was its Chairman and, as all contemporaries and also the Emperor knew, was the author of this very liberal and excellent charter of Brazilian liberties.

The memorial which this broad-minded, far-seeing and liberal Brazilian statesman submitted to the Constitutional Convention regarding slavery composed the basis of the Brazilian law of 1912 for the protection of the Indians. In his speech Bonifacio emphasized the view that an organized Commonwealth, a State, is not the end of a political purpose but only the means to accomplish certain ends, including human happiness and the moral education of humanity, and that consequently not physical power but the moral laws are the essence of a State. "The main base of civic society is justice; its main purpose is human happiness. A Government, of whatever form it may be, which is not based on morality, is like the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, which a stone loosened from a hill struck at its base and ground into



JOSE BONIFACIO  
Marble bust by Charpentier of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, the "patriarch of the Brazilian Republic"

dust; it is a structure on quicksand which may be laid low by a gust of wind. \* \* \* Let us continue on the road of the true policy, product of the intellect and of morality." He concluded by saying that the base of this morality on which the State must rest is Christian love.

Bonifácio's Constitution was submitted to his friend the King. He had made a Republican Constitution, vested all the rights in the people and relegated the Emperor's prerogatives into the realm of shadow.

After a vehement agitation the Constitution was finally accepted through the pressure of public opinion, but the Emperor, infuriated by the infringement upon his autocracy, banished the great Brazilian patriot, who had to leave the country forthwith. He went to France and lived near Bordeaux. In 1829 he was called back. The young Emperor had already made his plans to return to Portugal. The atmosphere was too liberal for him and he could not get over his inherited prejudices.

Dom Pedro abdicated and went to Portugal on April 7, 1831, leaving his five-year-old son behind him. His last official

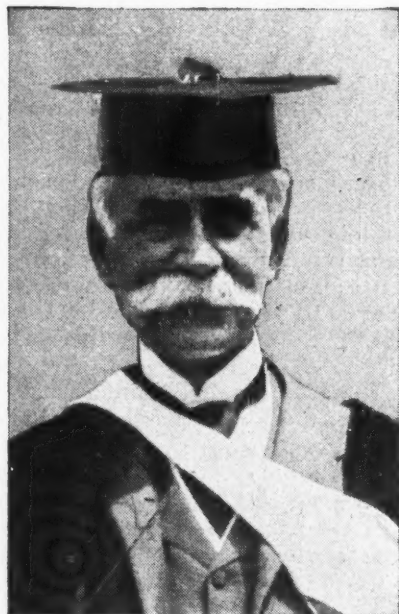
act was to commend the welfare of his heir to the Brazilian nation and to make José Bonifácio, his former friend and subsequent political antagonist, whom he had banished from the country, the guardian and tutor of his son, the future Emperor Dom Pedro II.

#### DOM PEDRO II. AND THE REPUBLIC

Dom Pedro II. became a Mason as soon as he was old enough, also Master of the Brazilian Grand Lodge, and the Masonic fraternity continued to exercise an important influence on the public life of Brazil.

The consolidation of the republican elements in Brazil and the agitation culminating in the creation of a republic were the work of the Brazilian Masons. All the Brazilian Parliamentarians, journalists and other agitators at that time belonged to the Masonic fraternity.

The establishment of the Brazilian Republic at that particular moment, however,



JOAQUIM NABUCO

One of Brazil's leading statesmen and philosophers, who died while serving as Ambassador to the United States. He is here shown wearing the academic dress of a Doctor of Laws of Yale University



was an accident, the consequence of a sudden popular unforeseen uprising, over which the republican leaders had no control. They had not intended to declare the republic before the death of the venerable old Emperor, their friend, who was dangerously ill with diabetes and expected to live but a few months longer. Dom Pedro II. was an ardent Brazilian patriot, a philosopher and distinguished scientist, and a republican by conviction. He himself would have organized the Brazilian Republic had he been convinced that there was enough workable material among the republican leaders to guide the country safely in its evolution. The change came finally under these conditions: The sudden abolition of slavery through the Countess d'Eu, Dom Pedro II.'s daughter and Regent during his sickness, had disarranged the economic and financial condition of the nation and caused much dissatisfaction.

Benjamin Constant, a sullen and dissatisfied army officer, created an unhealthy atmosphere in military circles. The prolonged illness of Dom Pedro II. and the activity of his French son-in-law, Count d'Eu, alienated the old Brazilian families toward the Braganza dynasty. Such was the situation when one morning the parishioners of the Petropolis Cathedral found the Princess Regent on her knees scrubbing the floor. She explained that this was done in consequence of a vow. The fact created a disagreeable sensation all over Rio and Petropolis, and was particularly offensive to the Masons, who feared an undue influence of fanatic priests on the Government under the regency of the Countess d'Eu. This was the last straw. Next day the republic was declared.

During the whole reign of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. the rights of the Masonic fraternity were vigorously protected. The Catholic Church communities and the Masonic lodges had always lived together without friction till a fanatic young Bishop, Mgr. Vidal de Oliveira of Olinda, Pernambuco, on assuming his seat (1872), made war on certain religious-political brotherhoods (*irmandades*) which contained Masons among their numbers. The Bishop of Para seconded his action. A

long feud followed, which ended in two Bishops excommunicating these brotherhoods and ordering the closing of all churches whose priests tolerated them. The injured parties appealed to the Minister of Justice, who submitted the case through a special embassy to the Vatican. Cardinal Antonelli sent a severe censure to the Bishops and ordered them to repeal their measures and apologize. This they did; the Government, however, determined to vindicate its authority, sentenced these two Bishops to four years in the penitentiary with hard labor. Dom Pedro II. pardoned the two overzealous prelates, so far as the hard labor was concerned, and reduced their imprisonment from four to two years, which they served. This incident shows that the political influence of the clergy in Brazil is overrated abroad.

Incidentally it may be remarked that there are now as many Masons in Brazil—30,000—as in all other parts of South and Central America and the West Indies combined. Compared with the United States, however, their number is insignificant. Of the 2,400,000 Masons scattered throughout the world, 1,575,068 are in the United States.

#### BRAZIL TODAY

Thus Brazil became a nation, and it is this rise to independent Statehood that Brazil is celebrating today. What of her present position? What has she accomplished? What is she accomplishing? What are her difficulties as an independent member of the comity of South American nations, each of which has its own historical background, its own development, its own struggles and adversities?

I should first like to stress the commercial importance of Brazil to the United States. All Americans who have a thorough knowledge of the economic conditions and possibilities of Brazil will admit that none of the other South American countries is of such importance and interest to the people of the United States as our Portuguese-speaking neighbor to the south.

Brazil can give us much that we need: coffee, cacao, rubber, manganese ore, hides, fruits, drugs, diamonds, and we can supply her better than anybody else

with her primary necessities: flour, kerosene, condensed milk, heavy hardware, railroad material, all sorts of manufactured articles, the latest hygienic devices against hookworms, malaria and yellow fever, sound common sense, and last but not least, capital.

Lately a very promising beginning has been made by both the United States and Brazil to establish closer relations, and above all to gain more accurate knowledge of conditions in the respective countries. We in the United States need this more than Brazil.

#### FALSE REPORTS ABOUT BRAZIL

Our insufficient acquaintance with Brazilian conditions is the cause of frequently incorrect and detrimental news, erroneously or maliciously spread, finding insertion in our newspapers and credence by their readers.

Within the last few weeks telegrams published in the United States declared that:

1. A revolution had occurred in Rio;
2. An uprising against the national Government was contemplated at Sao Paulo;
3. There had been an encounter between the army and the navy in Rio de Janeiro;
4. The capital of Rio de Janeiro was soon to be transferred to a point in the interior.

#### What are the facts?

1. Last fall, during the State election in Rio Grande do Sul (not in Rio de Janeiro), there was an insignificant but noisy demonstration against the Government party by some gauchos (cowboys), which had no more significance than one of the Ku Klux Klan outbursts down in Dixie;

2. An uprising in the State of Sao Paulo against the national Government is as probable as an uprising in Illinois against the Union. The capital of that highly civilized State, the most important of the United States of Brazil, is known in Brazil as the Brazilian Chicago. It can get anything from the Federal Government within reason, and it does not want anything else. In Sao Paulo the independence of Brazil was declared; there most of the men lived and worked who made the Brazilian Republic; its first three Presidents came from that State. The motto on the Brazilian flag, "Order and Progress," has its staunchest supporters in Sao Paulo;

3. Some weeks ago some boisterous sailors from a vessel in the Port of Rio had to be arrested by the city police and jailed; such was

the character of the clash between the Brazilian Army and Navy reported here;

4. An article of the Brazilian Constitution provides that the national capital shall be transferred to a point in the interior of Brazil. Every once in a while enterprising real estate men or gentlemen desirous of making an excursion to the Far Southwest persuade the President to appoint a commission to study this project. During the last days of President Pessoa's administration (which terminated in November, 1922), such a commission was sent to the incipient State of Alagoas and made a favorable report. This will settle the matter for some years. The present generation will not see the city of Rio de Janeiro dethroned as the capital of Brazil. Important reasons for expediency and powerful local interests are against it. No Congress would dare to vote the enormous sums such a venture would require.

Conditions are not as inconstant in Brazil as it is often supposed abroad. The republic is firmly established and the economic and political development was progressing very favorably when the Versailles peace was concluded.

#### BRAZIL'S PRESENT DIFFICULTIES

War, however, as well as peace, has its burdens, and Brazil had her difficulties. The loss of the Central American market seriously affected all classes in all parts of the Brazilian Republic—the rubber gatherers of the extreme North, the cacao and tobacco planters in the Central and Northwestern States and the millions engaged in coffee production.

On account of the reduced exports and stagnation in business, the value of the Brazilian fiat money has decreased almost 60 per cent. during the last two years. Four milreis were then equivalent to an American dollar; a milreis now is worth less than 12 cents. This is a hardship for the many who have to pay interest to foreign security-holders for commercial loans in gold, or who are limited to certain paper milreis prices for public services such as railroads, street cars, steamers, telephones, and so forth, and who have to buy their coal, machinery and nearly all their material in foreign countries against gold. The great light and power company in Rio de Janeiro, which runs all the electric street cars in Rio de Janeiro and the suburbs has to pay \$700,000 interest on 6 per cent. gold notes,



Publishers' Photo Service

Public water fountain at Rio de Janeiro, the only source from which the poorer classes obtain water

buy its materials and machinery in Europe and the United States, and regulate its fares according to laws and agreements with the Brazilian Government made when the Brazilian currency was 60 per cent. higher than the depreciated paper money she receives now. It is doubtful whether that magnificently managed company will be able to make its expenses this year.

On account of the depreciation of their currency the Brazilians must drastically curtail their imports, which include many of the necessities of life. On the other hand, buyers have the advantage as well as those who would now invest capital in Brazil—in lands, improved real estate, public utilities, and so forth. Numerous and powerful waterfalls are characteristic of the Brazilian topography—there are 260 of them in Brazil with an estimated force of 10,000,000 horsepower; this

means that the electrification of most of the Brazilian railroads is only a question of time. This ought to be done by the Americans.

The lack of ready means is at present badly felt by the Brazilians, because their old bankers, the English, to whom they owe about \$1,000,000,000, are not in a position to finance them any longer. The Americans will have to take their place, for mutual benefit.

Even more detrimental than the lack of ready cash for Brazil is the lack of higher institutions of learning in accord with modern experience and methods. Here also the Americans should lend a helping hand.

In his very interesting article in the March number of *THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, on the hook-worm in Brazil, Mr. Roy Nash has not described the most



important feature of the moral, social and economic effects of the hygienic campaign of the Rockefeller Foundation, viz., that it is the best American propaganda conceivable. The arrival of the Rockefeller samaritans in Brazil was epoch-making. The benefits they have brought and the gratitude for them are nationwide. They have caused a closer approach between the American and Brazilian people and have created a congenial atmosphere in Brazil for Americanism which will not fail to have also important material results.

Few know of the magnitude of the debt of gratitude the world at large, and especially Brazil, owes to the United States for her energetic endeavors and splendid results in the realm of sanitation.

What the Rockefeller Foundation is doing against malaria and hookworm in Brazil, the United States Army yellow fever commission, the enlightened labors of Major General Gorgas, the discoveries of Dr. Walter Reed and his colleagues,

the heroic sacrifices of those two American nurses who gave their lives for the necessary experiments, have done for Brazil regarding yellow fever. They have practically eradicated it, thus creating the modern Brazil. They say commerce follows the flag; here the flag followed the doctors.

I have striven briefly to give a picture of present conditions in Brazil. Our South American sister nation is making progress, not swiftly, but surely. Joaquim Nabuco, statesman and philosopher, one of the most congenial characters in modern Brazilian history, also well known in the United States as Brazilian Ambassador in Washington, in a public speech in Chicago, made the following memorable remark: "In close contact with you we would be 'Americanized,' i. e., we would be penetrated by your optimism, fearlessness and energy. But we could not keep step with you, and we do not want to. 'Festina lente' (make haste slowly) is the rule of the Latin race for health and permanence."



# THE REIGN OF TERROR IN PERU

By DR. CARLOS CONCHA

Former Professor of the University of Lima, a distinguished Peruvian scholar and an eminent attorney at law

*The Peruvian President indicted in a circumstantial manner with names, places, and dates for acts of usurpation, tyranny, and contempt for the Constitution of his country—Deportations, suppression, expropriation of private property specifically charged*

PERU ended the era of revolutionary Governments in 1895, when Nicolas de Pierola overthrew the despot Caceres and set up constitutional government. In the seventeen years following, five Presidents peacefully administered affairs. The present President, Señor Leguia, who ended this era of peace, himself served as Secretary of the Treasury under President Pardo. That period wit-

nessed the most prosperous era in modern Peruvian history and proved how swiftly Peru could develop if assured stable government under constitutional law.

President Leguia, when his first Administration expired in 1912, ended the era of good-will and destroyed the prosperity of the country when he prevented the holding of regular elections, in order to remain in power. The Peruvian Congress is required to choose the President in default of election, and Leguia believed he could have himself named. In this he failed, but he succeeded in having his brother, Robert Leguia, made Vice President.

## PARDO'S OVERTHROW BY LEGUIA

The manner in which Peru emerged from this crisis gives eloquent evidence of its deep-rooted love for peace and order. All the political parties decided to organize a convention at which a national candidate for the Presidency would be nominated. This convention was held in 1915 and José Pardo, who was at the time the President of the University of San Marcos, was nominated by a large majority. Somewhat later the popular vote confirmed this selection.

Mr. Pardo's second term in office was as liberal and constitutional in its tendencies as his first. In fact, in his last message to Congress in July, 1918, Mr. Pardo boasted of the fact that "during his Administration not a single citizen had been arrested for political reasons." Nor could it be otherwise, as Mr. Pardo had to live up to his past record as well as to the prestige of his name, "great and honored not only in Peru but wherever the friends



ISAIAS DE PIEROLA

Leader of the Peruvian Democratic Party, who was exiled from Peru on account of his activities in favor of honest elections

of constitutional freedom are found," as Elihu Root, the then Secretary of State of the United States, took occasion to state at Lima in 1906.

No one profited by these wise and humane methods at that time more than Mr. Leguia, who, protected by the ample guarantees tendered him by Pardo's Government, returned home from Europe and ran again for the Presidency. Meanwhile Mr. Leguia and his followers had started vigorous propaganda in the press and among the military against Mr. Pardo, whom they accused of having reduced the status of the army. This led to a military outbreak in August, 1918, which the authorities lawfully suppressed.

In 1919 the popular vote was cast to elect the successor to Mr. Pardo. Before the returns from all parts of the country were received in Lima, Mr. Leguia, under the false pretense that Mr. Pardo and his Congressional friends were plotting to kidnap and exile him in order not to be obliged to acknowledge the results at the polls, which he claimed to be decidedly in his favor, put in action his plan of deposing the constitutional executive by means of a coup d'état. Mr. Leguia then seized office and Mr. Pardo was deported.

#### ALL OPPOSITION STIFLED

One of Leguia's first acts was to dissolve Congress, whose authority he would have been compelled to respect had he taken the oath as a constitutional President before the said Congress. As a result, a Congress composed of members of all the political parties of Peru, whose credentials had been approved at different times by the Supreme Court, gave way to an assembly made up of friends and relatives of Leguia; they were elected not in accordance with the provisions of any statute but with rulings set up by Mr. Leguia himself.

But Mr. Leguia's aims were not confined solely to the desire of having at his service a docile and obedient Congress. He also did not wish to have any political opposition in the press. To stifle the press, mobs were sent to attack and set fire to the offices of the leading newspapers of Lima, *El Comercio* and *La Prensa*, on Sept. 10, 1919. At that time, also, the pro-



**JOSE PARDO**  
Former President of Peru, who was  
deported by his successor, President  
Leguia

prietor of the latter daily and head of the Liberal Party, Dr. Augusto Durand, as well as many other citizens, were deported without due process of law.

Some time later, on March 20, 1921, *La Prensa* was expropriated by a decree of the Chief Executive and transformed under the same name into an official organ of the Administration. This unusual proceeding aroused a general protest through all the continent and moved the Universal Congress of Journalists at Honolulu to adopt a resolution in condemnation of this act of the Peruvian Government.

As former United States Ambassador Gonzalez in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* has defended Leguia against this charge, the following paragraph is pertinent in proving its truth; it is from a letter written from Guayaquil on Feb. 6, 1923, to Mr. Gonzalez by Dr. Durand himself:

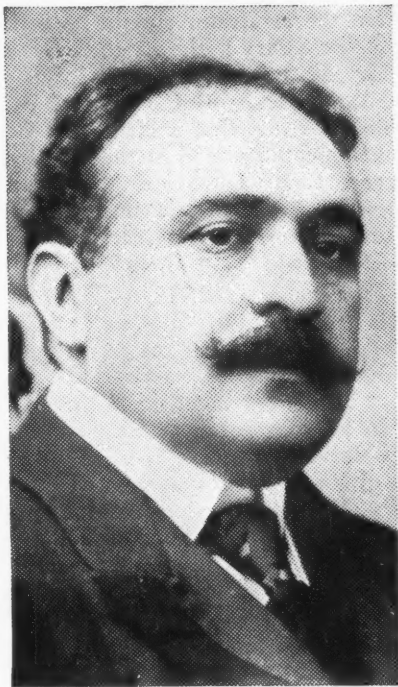
Dr. Arturo Osoreo, ex-Plenipotentiary of Peru,



in Italy and ex-member of the Board of Government of Peru, has informed me that Mr. Augusto B. Leguia had declared to him in Lima that you, in your character of Ambassador of the United States of North America, had advised him in the assault and confiscation of the newspaper *La Prensa*, which is my property. I cannot doubt the word of Dr. Osorez; but in view of the fact that the question of a solemn affirmation of Mr. Leguia in your respect is involved, I am obliged to ask you whether Mr. Leguia's statement is true.

#### CRITICS DEPORTED

Between November, 1920, and May, 1921, as the dictatorship of Mr. Leguia gained more and more impetus, many of



DR. AUGUSTO DURAND

Chief of the Peruvian Liberal Party and a prominent opponent of the Leguia Administration, who died mysteriously while being taken to Lima on a warship. He was the owner and editor of *La Prensa*, a leading newspaper published in Lima, which has since been converted into a Government organ

his friends in Congress began to criticise his high-handed methods, and to these criticisms the ruler replied with the arrest and deportation of his former political followers. Such was the case with Senators Grau, Portella and Osorio, and Representatives Ruiz Bravo, Jorge and Manuel Prado, Torres Balcazar, Cesar Pardo, Sayan Palacios and others. A similar fate was in store for General Benavides, ex-President of Peru, who dared to advise Mr. Leguia of the desirability of a change of his political course.

Some of the outraged citizens turned then to the Judges for redress. The Tribunals supported these claims, but the Administration revolted against the writs of the courts, causing thereby a conflict between the judicial and the executive branches of the Government. This attitude of President Leguia gave rise to a general strong sentiment of the necessity of self-defense. The Bar Association, the universities, all the higher institutions of Peru, were unanimous in condemning the unlawful position taken by the Administration, and agreed to resort to means of peaceful propaganda in the hope of inducing the President to obey the decisions of the courts, as provided in our Constitution. (March, 1921.)

With this end in view, a public lecture was held in one of the halls of the University of Lima, March 22, 1921. While it was going on the police force surprised the audience by firing upon it. Several students were wounded. The university in protest closed its doors for over a year, and all efforts of Mr. Leguia to appoint a new Faculty proved of no avail. This movement ended with the arrest of the President of the university, the eminent scholar, Dr. Javier Prado, and the deportation of a number of professors, writers, lawyers and many other gentlemen, who were placed on board a steamship en route to Australia. (April, 1921.)\*

In January, 1922, Mr. Pierola, the head of the Democratic Party, who was reorganizing his party, preparatory for the next elections; Dr. Osorez, ex-Minister of

\*See the article published at the time by the special correspondent of The New York Evening Post who witnessed the facts. See also The Chicago Tribune, Aug. 19, 1921. (Dispatches sent by a special correspondent who went to Lima to inquire about the political situation.)

Justice of Leguia's Government; General Puente, Military Attaché to our Embassy at Washington up to a very recent date, and other prominent citizens were also deported, without being given any opportunity to defend themselves against the unfounded charge of political conspiracy. By these methods Mr. Leguia has been able to rid himself of the leaders of all political parties.

#### PUBLIC FUNDS SQUANDERED

The former Ambassador to Peru, Mr. Gonzales, contends that had there been available revenue Mr. Leguia would have accomplished wonderful achievements for the welfare of his people. In making such a bold statement Mr. Gonzales forgets that during the years 1919 and 1920 the Peruvian revenues showed very large surpluses, and that even now they have been estimated at 5,628,350 Peruvian pounds, against 5,169,147 Peruvian pounds, as calculated in the budget for 1919.

It is true that the Administration has more than once been unable to pay the public servants, but the responsibility for this failure lies in the extravagance and squandering of the public funds. This fact also explains the increase in the public debt of Peru by about £P5,000,000 during the last three years.

An illustration of how the funds of the Government are expended by Leguia's Administration can be gathered from a very recent experience.\* Mr. Cumberland, the American expert to whom the preparation of the Peruvian budget for 1922 was entrusted, estimated that the revenues should produce a surplus of £P.131,009, yet at the end of the first six months of the year instead of a surplus there was a deficit of £P.851,533. The actual shortage in the public income, however, had been only £P.140,038. The statement sent to the Chamber by the Secretary of the Treasury on this subject shows that the deficit was chiefly due to the lavish expenditures of the Adminis-

tration, expenditures on which Mr. Cumberland had not figured.

As regards foreign policy, it should be pointed out that Mr. Leguia has not fulfilled his promises, made while he was a candidate for public office, to secure revision of the peace treaty with Chile. Public opinion in Peru, however, unitedly confides in the high sense of justice of President Harding, who has been called to arbitrate the pending controversy between Peru and Chile. Nevertheless, we may say that the protocol signed in Washington in 1921 did not meet with the Peruvians' approval, because by its provisions the powers given to the arbitrator have been restricted in such a way that he may decide only whether or not it is possible at this time to hold a plebiscite which should have taken place thirty years ago. It was Peru's desire that the arbitrator should be invested with the necessary authority to decide once and for all the definite status of the disputed territories. Moreover, one cannot overlook the fact that a large part of the Peruvian people aimed at the revision of the peace treaty with Chile, as had been promised by Mr. Leguia in his political platform during his candidacy.

Now that the end of his Presidential term approaches (Oct. 12, 1924), Mr. Leguia is trying to introduce an amendment to our Constitution for the purpose of remaining in office, as was his intention in 1912. To convey an idea of the opinion held in Peru as regards this change, now under way in Congress, it is sufficient to quote the following statement of Mr. Leguia y Martinez, a cousin of President Leguia and his Prime Minister for the last three years: "If it is a mortal sin to impose upon the will of the people a successor to office, it would be a sin, beyond redemption, to induce the President, as the influential clique is trying to do, to carry through that imposition by himself and in his own behalf." That sin, like many others indicated in this article, has no terrors for the present President of Peru. His rule, as I have shown, has been nothing less than a reign of terror, which should come to an end on the expiration of his term of office.

\*See the report of the Minister of Finance of Peru of December.

# PRESIDENT SAAVEDRA A BENEFICENT RULER

By C. LOPEZ ARCE

Consul General of Bolivia in New York City

*The Bolivian Consul General at New York lauds the Bolivian President as a patriot, a democratic administrator, a just executive, a broad-minded scholar of brilliant attainments, who is building up his country on modern lines*

UNDER the title "Three South American Despots" an article appeared in April CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, written under the pseudonym "Perez," which defames Dr. Bautista Saavedra, the President of Bolivia. He did not become President, as is charged, by seizing the office. He became President on July 12, 1920, after a coup d'état carried out by men of great moral, intellectual and political qualities, who were supported in their endeavors by the great majority of the people; this coup d'état was carried out without the shedding of a single drop of blood, without affecting in the least the business and the economic conditions of the country, and did away with the entire system of falsehoods and impositions which up to that time had obtained in the governing party, i. e., the Liberals.

It was the Liberal Party which had suppressed the liberty of the press and freedom of thought in order to make it impossible for the party which should succeed it to criticise its harmful methods. It was this party, which by means of an electoral system which had been well thought out and adapted to its requirements, made impossible the free and safe exercise of suffrage, guarding invariably the places where the elections were held by armed force and preventing the people whose disapproval it had incurred from casting their votes at the elections for the municipal officers, for representatives to Congress and for the President of the Republic. This party, in order to remain in pos-

session of power, increased the regular force two-fold and even three-fold, doing this only for political purposes, going to such an extreme that each policeman or State trooper voted two and even three times.

This party boasted that its leaders belonged to a blue-blooded aristocracy, which, as a matter of fact, does not exist in Bolivia, and it is for this reason that the writer of the said article stated that Dr. Saavedra was "a half-breed," "revengeful," "low," and so forth. It is this opinion which brought about, under the former Government, the torture of the common people (laborers), and all those opposing the former Government, causing a separation in the social structure, dividing the Government employes and the rest of the population into two hostile camps.

This party brought about the loss of our outlet to the sea by signing a contract of sale for the coast of Bolivia, as a result of which Bolivia is now without a seaport. This treaty was signed without in any way consulting the nation and without bearing in mind its interest or its future; and the Liberal Party went still further by favoring the interests of a party, which, by a simple war of conquest, occupied the territory of our own country, a party which availed itself of all kinds of political crimes in order to remain in power. In this regard I need only mention the death of General José Manuel Pando, Fernandez Molina and others. For all these reasons the Liberal Party lost control, and it is now defaming the good



name of Dr. Saavedra and the Republican Party, as well as of the country in general, both at home and abroad.

After the completion of the political movement of July 12, 1921, which, as far as Bolivia is concerned, represents a new phase in its political life and which meant the return of Government for and by the people, there was formed a Government Board, and immediately general elections were held. At these elections there were elected the members of the National Assembly, which took up for discussion the basis of the political constitution of the nation in accordance with the new requirements of the country and modern ideas. This convention, vested with full powers by the people, assembled in the year 1921-22 and elected as President of the Republic Dr. Saavedra. From the very first day of his office he has done his utmost to unite the political parties of the country and to govern with the assistance of all parties, for he believes that the destiny of the people is not to be placed in the hands of one party.

His first acts were for the purpose of constituting a Government of conciliation, and he even invited those of his political adversaries who enjoyed prestige to become Ministers of State, plenipotentiaries and other important officers within Bolivia and abroad. He furthermore kept in office diplomats and Consuls, as he was of the opinion that the Consular and Diplomatic bodies are truly professional and not partisan bodies. In proof of this, the present leaders of the Liberal Party, M. José Maria Camache and Dr. Franz Tamayo, the latter the founder and leader of the Radical Party, both men of importance and prestige, were appointed by President Saavedra as delegates of Bolivia to the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. They showed lack of national spirit by refusing the appointments.

The article in April *CURRENT HISTORY* says: "His [Saavedra's] university education has given him a superficial veneer of culture, which disappears at the least friction," and in another place the author adds: "Saavedra was used by the men of his party to stir up the passions of the people as a means of political opposition

to liberal Governments." The writer entirely overlooked the fact that Dr. Saavedra has not only been a brilliant student at the university, but also a famous professor for many years, having as his pupils the very men who today defame him. Dr. Saavedra was formerly President of the university, and Minister of Education while the Liberal Government was in power, from which Ministry he withdrew because the said party started abuses and injustices and did not carry out its program. Moreover, while the Liberal Party was the ruling power Dr. Saavedra became the attorney of Bolivia in the boundary controversy with the Republic of Peru. From his patriotic work on this occasion he acquired a splendid reputation. It was after holding this office that he wrote his famous work, "Los Derechos de Bolivia" (Rights of Bolivia), in several volumes. Dr. Saavedra, in spite of the superficial "veneer" mentioned and in spite of the "low passions," was sent by the same Liberal Party to investigate the archives of the Royal Library of Seville; finally, probably in order to "reveal his monstrous nakedness and deformity, his half-breed soul, rancorous, revengeful, low spirit, and so forth," the people honored him repeatedly and elected him time and again as Deputy, Senator, and finally President, of the Republic!

#### ENLIGHTENED LEGISLATION

Under the Presidency of Dr. Saavedra decrees and laws have been promulgated which are for the absolute benefit of the country, such as, for instance, the Election law, the law covering the press, the law covering the representation of minorities, first in the municipality and then in the Congress, that is, laws covering problems which even better organized countries, like Switzerland and others, have hesitated to legislate upon.

Furthermore, in view of the fact that a resolution was submitted in the Chamber of Deputies for the laying down of their mandates, which resolution was approved, and in view of the fact that the Senate proceeded to elect by vote half of its number, so that, in accordance with the Constitution of the country, a reorganization of the Senate could be effected, the

President called a general election for the Chamber of Deputies and a partial election for the Senate. Where can you find a "Dictator" or a "tyrant" who, after the representatives of Congress have given up their offices, returns the sovereign Government to the people so that the people, by a majority of votes, may constitute the new Congress, as a result of elections by the people, held under the most liberal guarantees and in accordance with the new decree, which, for the first time in the history of the country, grants representation to minority parties?

What tyrant would try to obtain the cooperation of the different parties, or invite his political adversaries to accept important offices in his administration? What tyrant would give to the country most liberal laws and guarantees, stimulate and develop commerce, construct railroads, build new roads, or, in accordance with human conscience and justice and always adhering to the laws of Bolivia, endeavor to obtain for his country a seaport? Where can you find a despot who, in filling positions of Diplomatic and Consular Corps, confers such offices on his political adversaries and sends out other learned men in order to make investigations as to the conditions in other countries?

It is stated that Dr. Saavedra, "resolved to conquer every obstacle, resorted to the recourse of disarming the army and organizing with the arms and equipment of the States, and, with funds obtained on credit, an army of civilians." This remark is absolutely untrue. As I am personally acquainted with the recent happenings of my country, I most emphatically state that this is mere slander. It is untrue that the army has been disarmed and dissolved in order to form an army of civilians. I may add that our army consists entirely of Bolivian citizens.

#### NO "SHAMEFUL ALLIANCE" WITH PERU

"A Shameful Alliance." This subtitle constitutes a still more serious charge against the sovereignty and jurisdiction of two nations which mutually respect each other and entertain cordial relations. The statement that "the characteristic note of the dictatorship of Peru and Bolivia is

their intimate association" is not in accordance with facts and only shows to what fantastic arguments the writer resorts in order to show that Presidents Leguia and Saavedra have connived to extend their alleged partisan hostilities and political prosecutions even beyond the frontiers of their nations. No statement can be more false. It is true that the Government of Bolivia issued a few months ago a decree of martial law, after canceling same. This decree referred only to the Departments of La Paz and Oruro, and the issuance of this decree was not due to a simple whim or a wilful exhibition of authority, but was the result of a desire to protect the country. This was in accordance with the Constitution of the nation, which stipulates that after a party makes any attempts against the established order and tries to create disorder every Government is under the obligation to prevent this.

The false patriots were expelled to Peruvian territory. After they had passed the frontier they preferred to go to the City of Arequipa (Peru). In Arequipa Peruvians attacked them; these Peruvians hated Chile on account of the war of 1879 and on account of the Tacna and Arica controversy, and, on the other hand, also hated the exiles from Bolivia, who at all times had given frank support to the enemies of the allied cause in 1879, and who, when in power, were openly hostile to Peru and Peruvian citizens living in Peruvian territory. These are the causes which induced the Peruvians to insult the banished Bolivians. This is all. It was simply an outburst of Peruvian patriotism and "not an agreement of tyrants."

The writer also falsely stated that the printing plants and dailies of the opposing parties have been closed in order to avoid any censure of the acts of the Government. The opposition, as also the Government newspapers, have been published at all times and therefore it is more than slander to assert that the Government of Dr. Saavedra has suppressed the newspapers. At La Paz, for example, there are published *El Diario*, *El Liberal*, *La Ilustracion*, and so forth; in Sucre, *La Mañana*; in Tarija, *La Defensa*, and so forth.

# EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 9]

## GERMANY'S NEW REPARATION OFFER

**F**OLLOWING the reception of the offer made on May 2, the German Government on June 7 submitted new reparation proposals to the Allies in the hope of reaching a settlement. The text of the note, which was presented in London, Paris, Rome, Brussels, Tokio and Washington and to the Reparation Commission, was as follows:

"After full and careful consideration Germany has stated her sincere belief as to her capacity to make payment for reparation. The German Government would not be acting fairly, and they would not bring a real solution any nearer, if only for the sake of temporary alleviation of their political difficulties they were to promise more than in their judgment the German people can with the utmost effort perform. Nevertheless, the question of Germany's capacity is one of fact on which different opinions can be held, and the German Government admit the difficulty of arriving at any secure estimate in present conditions.

"For this reason they have already offered to accept the decision of an impartial international body as to the amount and method of payment. Germany can give no stronger proof than this of her determination to discharge reparations. The German Government also are ready to supply all available information necessary in forming a reliable judgment on Germany's capacity to pay. They will, if requested, throw open to inspection all their financial records and furnish any details that may be desired concerning the resources of German industry and business.

"(2) The German Government have made reference to the flotation of big loans in order that large capital sums might accrue at the earliest possible moment to those powers to whom reparation is due. As long as loans on a great scale prove impracticable they are ready to substitute a scheme of annuities.

"(3) Since the allied Governments have attached importance to Germany's furnishing forthwith precise indications as to the kind and mode of the guarantees which she is in a position to offer, the German Government propose the following as part of a definitive reparation settlement:

"The railway system of the Reich, with all its appurtenances, will be separated from the other property of the Reich and held in a separate fund, the accounts of which would be indepen-

dent of the general finance administration and under its own control, and obligations will be issued without delay up to an amount of 10,000,000,000 gold marks, with a first pledge on the assets of this administration and carrying interest of 5 per cent. as from July 1, 1927, thus securing an annual payment of 500,000,000 gold marks.

"(b) To secure further annual payment of 500,000,000 gold marks as from July 1, 1927, the German Government will, without delay, subject the entire business, industry, banking, trade, traffic and agriculture of the country to a guarantee in the form of a first pledge of 10,000,000,000 gold marks on their real estate, whether buildings, dwellings, lands or forests. The annual dues of 500,000,000 gold marks would be levied either indirectly in the form of a general tax on all classes of property or they would be borne directly by the objects specifically pledged.

"(c) In addition will be pledged as security for annual payments the customs of import on consumable articles other than necessities, the excise on tobacco, beer, wine and sugar, and receipts of the spirits monopoly. The average gross revenue from these customs and excise receipts of the years preceding the war reached about 800,000,000 marks. Their yield in gold marks has now sunk to approximately one-quarter by reason of Germany's loss in territory and population, and her reduced consumption. With the economic recovery of Germany, however, it will automatically increase.

"In conclusion, the German Government feel that they must lay emphasis on the following: In a matter so vast and complicated real progress cannot be made by an exchange of written documents, but can only be achieved by word of mouth at the conference table. Germany's capacity to pay depends on the character of settlement as a whole. The method of payment can only be arranged in direct consultation with those who are to receive payment. Guarantees can only be worked out with the collaboration of those whom they are intended to serve.

"For the solution of all these questions oral discussion is essential. Germany acknowledges her liability to make reparation. The German Government repeat their request that a conference be summoned as to how she may best discharge it.



## THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S EXPLANATION

Baron von Rosenberg, the German Foreign Minister, in the course of a statement to the foreign newspaper correspondents in Berlin on June 7, explained the German note in the following terms:

"The Government of the Reich has come to a decision on an undertaking which, if successful, will prove fortunate for all Europe, but which, if unsuccessful, will have far-going and fatal consequences utterly unforeseeable.

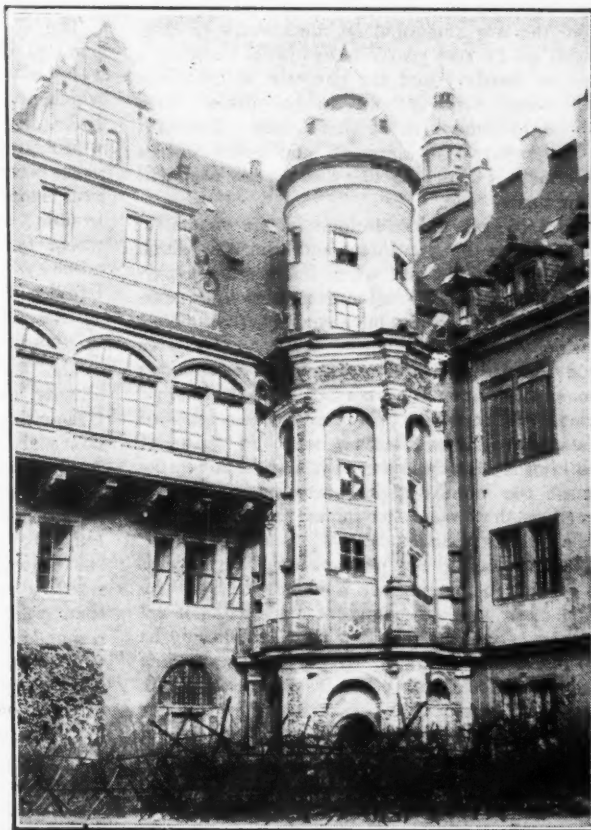
"You know, we received five answers to our note of May 2. Two of these answers almost slammed the door which had opened, except for a small crack. Three answers did not do so, though, to be sure, they did not invite us to come into the parlor and sit down at the table of nations. Of these three notes the answer from the Far East [Japan] was for German eyes relatively the most sympathetic to read. For us what matters it to exploit the modest opportunity for making connections offered by these three answering notes [The British, Italian and Japanese]? It might have laid near to us to limit our reply to these three powers, who in their answers requested us to make further proposals. After long consideration, however, we decided to answer not only these three, but all six powers who received our note of May 2.

"The answers of the Allies made three principal complaints: First, the amount of the offer; second, the construction of our note; third, the insufficient detail of economic guarantees offered by us.

"Our offer of May 2 was based on conscious and thorough study and examination of the subject. The German Government can and must offer only that which after thoughtful deliberation they believe the German people can pay. You will understand, therefore, why on June 7 we could come to no other estimate of figures than on May 2. For this reason, too, we waived the possibility of making a bridge between our offer of May 2 and the well-known proposals of Mr. Bonar Law (the British January proposals). According to official utterances of the British Government, the present value of the Bonar Law proposal, with the most favorable development of Germany, might amount to less than 30,000,000,000 gold

marks, while our proposal in case an international commission estimates our ability to pay that high would at most amount to 30,000,000,000 gold marks. And yet, the difference between the two proposals is tremendous. Our annual payments after four years would begin with 1,200,000,000 gold marks and gradually increase to 1,500,000,000 or 1,800,000,000, whereas the Bonar Law proposal after four years begins with 2,000,000,000 gold marks, gradually rising to 2,500,000,000, and only after this figure had been attained was an international commission to decide whether Germany was able to negotiate another jump to 3,500,000,000 gold marks.

"The kernel and heart of our offer of May 2 was not a specific figure, but Germany's willingness to accept a correction of its views at the hands of a non-partisan and independent body. Everybody knows that this proposal is based on the idea, born of the genius of Secretary Hughes, enunciated last December before the Historical Society of New Haven, and the German Government has again and again recurred on most diverse occasions to the great chances offered by the great wisdom of this suggestion.



The palace at Dresden, capital of Saxony, protected by barbed wire entanglements against revolutionary attacks

"In the matter of making more precise the details of the economic guarantees we could make a long step forward. The most valuable property which the Reich possesses, the State railroads, we offer as a guarantee. They are not running at a profit today, but everybody knows what great values are invested in German State railroads and how profitable they were in normal times. It is obvious that if ever again Germany reaches a condition where she is able to pay such huge reparation sums, the economic convalescence and rehabilitation will be such that assuredly the State railroads will profit thereby. That will be the moment when the State railroads will begin to show profit instead of loss.

"Our promise to draft all economic Germany into the service of reparations we make good in our memorandum of today. On all real estate, all business and dwelling premises in town and country and all agricultural and other land, a mortgage of 10,000,000,000 gold marks will be imposed as a guarantee in order to raise the additional annual payment of 500,000,000 gold marks.

"Finally we offer and pledge the customs duty on articles other than necessities of life, and the duties on the whole series of necessities of life. These customs and excise taxes in normal times before the war amounted on the average to 800,000,000 gold marks yearly. Because of Germany's losses of territory and the decrease of consumption, these customs and excise duties have dropped to one-fourth of this figure. But with the progressive convalescence and rehabilitation of Germany's economic life these items also will automatically rise.

"To avoid misunderstandings let me emphasize that these are the guarantees and securities which we offer. We do not offer fixed annual payments herewith. We offer securities and guarantees to cover the annual payments, the amount of which we do not know. These are no mere vague promises, certainly so far as drawing upon economic Germany is concerned. The drafting of German 'Wirtschaft' will assume the form of legislation. The preliminary work on drafts of such laws is already under way, and the Reichstag through the mouths of its party leaders has informed us that we can count on the co-operation of the political parties.

"In concluding our memorandum we express our conviction that in such a complicated and involved question an exchange of notes will not get anywhere. Such complicated matters can only be adjusted and settled with satisfaction to all when persons can look each other in the eye and talk together. Therefore we repeat at the end of our memorandum the request for a speedy calling of a conference to agree on the details of a final definite solution of the reparation problem."

The attitude of the French and Belgian Governments, it was indicated when these pages were going to press, was that there could be no nego-

tiations with Germany so long as the German Government persisted in its policy of directing and encouraging passive resistance in the Ruhr—a matter which was not mentioned in the note printed above.

The more recent happenings in the Ruhr itself have been disorders, attended by violence and bloodshed, which have been caused by the German Communists. The object of the Communists was to bring about strikes. In some cases mines were seized, leading to fierce fighting between the revolutionaries and the police. Following a number of less serious disturbances in different parts of the Ruhr, there was an unusually violent outbreak at Gelsenkirchen on the night of May 23, when eight persons, including one child, were killed, and between seventy and eighty were wounded. The Communists, after hard fighting, seized the Police Headquarters, in which much destruction was wrought, and then set the building on fire. Having won a victory, the Communists began negotiations with the Burgomaster to police and administer the city. During the struggle there was no interference by the French, who maintained an attitude of strict neutrality.

The trouble began rapidly to spread in all parts of the industrial district roughly bounded by Gelsenkirchen, Bochum and Dortmund, which practically form the industrial heart of the Ruhr. By May 26 it was estimated that 300,000 workmen were on strike, while sympathetic stoppages were taking place in unoccupied Germany. Still more alarming was the extension of the trouble to Dresden, the capital of Saxony, where for some time previously the Communist minority has been dominating the Government. Dresden was for a time completely at the mercy of the "League of the Unemployed," led by Communists.

The Ruhr disturbances were short-lived, and already on May 30 it was reported that the Communist rising was at an end, not because the bourgeois forces were able to defeat the workers so much as because the latter decided to resume work. According to The New York Times correspondent at Duesseldorf, in a cable dated May 30, the trouble, described by sensationalists as a Bolshevik attempt to set up a Soviet republic in Western Europe, was economic rather than political. "The struggle arose," the correspondent pointed out, "from the situation which rendered the purchasing power of the mark insufficient even for the barest necessities of life. The situation is now temporarily relieved by a general rise in wages approximating 50 per cent., but it is necessary to point out that this relief can only be temporary; that the actual factors which caused bloodshed continue to exist and that therefore the near future may well bring similar if not even more serious disturbances."

## COST OF AMERICAN RHINE ARMY SETTLED

**D**ELEGATES of the United States and the allied Governments signed an agreement at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 25 by which the Allies undertake to collect from Germany something more than 1,000,000,000 gold marks due to the United States for the cost of the Army of Occupation. Eliot Wadsworth, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, went to Paris to conduct the negotiations on behalf of the United States. The text of the more important portions of the agreement is as follows:

## ARTICLE I.

For the purpose of the present agreement, the net amount due to the Government of the United States for the costs of its Army of Occupation will be reckoned as follows:

The total net costs as they are certified by the United States Government and as they will figure in the accounts of the Reparation Commission after deducting the following sums, if they have not already been deducted; (a) any amount already collected by the United States Government in the form of the requisition of paper marks; (b) the value of the armistice material and material abandoned by Germany not possessing a military character.

## ARTICLE II.

1. The net amount due to the Government of the United States will be paid in twelve equal yearly instalments, the first instalment to be paid on or before Dec. 31, 1923.

3. Each of the yearly instalments referred to in Paragraph 1 of the present article constitutes up to Dec. 31, 1926, a first charge on the payments of all kinds to be credited to Germany's "reparation" account.

4. For the purpose of the execution of the present agreement the payments made by the German Government subjected to the charges referred to in Paragraph 3 above shall not include:

- (a) deliveries in kind intended to be used in the interior of the receiving countries, their colonies and their dominions;
- (b) the proceeds of the British Reparation Recovery act or of any other similar legislation enacted or to be enacted by the other allied Governments;
- (c) the value of transfers and cessions of property rights and interests made in execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

5. If, in the course of one calendar year between Jan. 1, 1923, and Dec. 31, 1926, the amount of the sum due to the Government of the United States exceeds 25 per cent. of the total of the payments made by or for the account of Germany for the credit of her rep-

aration account as defined above (excluding the sums carried to the account of the Armies of Occupation) the amount of the instalment payable to the Government of the United States shall be reduced to a sum equivalent to 25 per cent. of such payments, and one-eighth of the sum deducted shall be added to each of the instalments to be paid in the course of the years 1927 to 1934, inclusive.

6. Nevertheless, for the purpose of the present agreement, the European allied Governments, creditors on account of their Armies of Occupation, undertake to apply, during each of the years 1923 to 1926, inclusive, by priority to the payment of the current expenses for their respective Armies of Occupation, in so far as these have not been met by the requisition of paper marks, the value of the deliveries in kind referred to in paragraph (a) above, the proceeds of any Reparation Recovery act for the time being in force and referred to in paragraph (b) above, and the value of the transfers and cessions of property rights and interests referred to in paragraph (c) above, in such a way as to be able to place as far as possible the value of the other payments which Germany will make to her credit on account of reparations.

7. If, after 1926, the payments to the Government of the United States in the course of any particular year are insufficient to satisfy the amount due to that Government in the course of that year, the arrears shall be carried over to a special account bearing simple interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

8. However, if in the course of one of the first four years it should prove necessary to utilize all or a part of the payments in cash made by Germany to cover the costs of the Armies of Occupation of the European allies in the course of that year, the American priority of 25 per cent. shall be calculated on the total of the payments in cash made by Germany in the course of that year on reparation account and on the account of the Armies of Occupation of the European allied powers, exclusive of paper marks requisitioned to meet the needs of the Armies of Occupation for local currency. The sum to be remitted to the Government of the United States in the course of any one of the first four years shall not, however, exceed 50 per cent. of the total balance of the payments in cash made by Germany in the course of the year in question, which remains for credit to reparation account. If the American priority calculated as above for any particular year cannot be met by the 50 per cent. payments calculated as above, the balance of this priority shall be chargeable against the payments in cash made by Germany in the course of the following years up to and including 1926.



## ARTICLE III.

If a loan is floated or an anticipatory payment effected by Germany in any manner, the allied Governments will put themselves in communication with the Government of the United States for the purpose of discussing the participation of the United States in such extraordinary payments.

If, as a consequence of a loan floated either in America or elsewhere, or of any anticipatory payment made by Germany by any means whatever, a moratorium were granted to Germany, the allied Governments will put themselves into communication with the Government of the United States for the purpose of reaching an agreement which would not cause any prejudice to the Government of the United States.

## ARTICLE IV.

The allied Governments which have approved the agreement of March 11, 1922, declare that the charge upon the payments in cash to be received from Germany and set up by the last part of Article 8 of the interallied agreement of March 11, 1922, in favor of the unpaid balance of the costs of the British and French Armies of Occupation up to May 1, 1921, shall only apply to the balance, if such there be, of the German payments after payment of the sums

due to the United States in execution of the present agreement. The fact that the Government of the United States has taken note of this declaration cannot, however, be interpreted as an expression of opinion of the Government of the United States with regard to the agreement of March 11, 1922.

## ARTICLE V.

If the Government of the United States should come to an agreement with the Reparation Commission to receive, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles or any supplementary agreement, German dyestuffs, the value of these dyestuffs, determined by agreement between the Government of the United States and the Reparation Commission, shall be deducted from the annual payment due to the Government of the United States under the present agreement in the course of the calendar year in which these dyestuffs shall have been received.

## ARTICLE VI.

If at any time the arrears due to the United States reach a total such that the Government of the United States considers that there is a risk of its not being paid within the prescribed period of twelve years, the Government of the United States shall have the right to abrogate the present agreement.

## PROGRESS OF THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

**A**FTER having weathered several crises and effected settlements of several important points under dispute, the second Near East Conference, which opened at Lausanne, Switzerland, on April 22, was still in session at the time when this magazine went to press. Final settlement of the troublesome problem of Turco-Greek reparations for war damages and the conclusion of agreements which ended the allied battle to safeguard the judicial rights of foreign residents of Turkey left only the payment of interest on the Ottoman debt and the status of foreign concessions in Turkey as the main outstanding issues.

Desire to speed up the work of the conference, and a disposition on the part of the Turks to meet the allied spokesmen half way in their efforts to reach a settlement, resulted in a decision on May 15 by which the Turks recognized the American and British trade-mark claims, provided the holders of patents and trade marks previously registered with the old Constantinople Government registered them anew with the Angora Government. The Allies met the Turks' spirit of concession by abandoning their proposal that all decisions of the Turkish courts during the war

affecting foreigners should be subjected to judicial review.

Abolition of the International Sanitation Board, which had long supervised health conditions in Turkey, was agreed upon by the conference on May 18. Turkey agreed, as a substitute, to appoint three foreign physicians as an advisory board, particularly in preparing sanitary regulations for the Turkish Straits to prevent epidemics from spreading into Europe.

Despite the friendly offices of the various allied delegates and those of the American observer, Joseph C. Grew, Minister to Switzerland, and in the face of frequent conferences between Ismet Pasha and M. Venizelos, the deadlock on the question of Turco-Greek reparations which had developed in early May continued, and reached a crisis in the second half of the month. For more than a week the general sessions were suspended while efforts were being made to find a solution. The settlement of this thorny problem was finally reached by mutual concessions toward the end of May.\*

Further elements of nervousness were injected

\*See the article on Greece under this section for a full account of the terms of this settlement.

into conference circles on May 22 by a report that the British Mediterranean fleet had been ordered to concentrate in Near Eastern waters, and by the Turkish Government's formal protest to the British against the Greek fleet's cruising about the entrance to the Straits of the Dardanelles.

On May 24, just as the Greek crisis was reaching its climax, Hassan Bey, Turkish financial delegate, returned to Lausanne from Paris with the report that he had failed to reach an agreement with the holders of bonds of the Ottoman debt. The Turks stood on their offer to pay interest in paper francs, whereas the bondholders demanded gold francs or pounds sterling. Ismet sent Hassan back to Paris to make a last-hour effort to reach an accord. Thus the stage was set for another break-up at Lausanne. The Greeks immediately declared that in this event they would resume their liberty of action. This was taken to mean that they intended to attack the Turks in Eastern Thrace. It was also reported from Belgrade that the Greek Government had asked the Yugoslav Government what attitude it would adopt in the event of resumption of hostilities. This dangerous situation was relieved by the eleventh-hour agreement reached by Ismet Pasha and M. Venizelos.

Despite Bulgaria's protest against certain features of the Turco-Greek settlement, there was a distinct sense of relief among the delegates over this favorable outcome of an embittered controversy. Minister Grew on May 27 proposed to Ismet Pasha that negotiations for a treaty between the United States and Turkey be begun at once. The State Department at Washington announced, May 31, that Secretary Hughes had telegraphed to Minister Grew full powers to negotiate a treaty or treaties with Turkey covering the rights of American nationals within her territory.

An agreement was also reached on the ques-

tion of reparations between the Allies and the Turks, whereby the Allies declared themselves satisfied with the £6,000,000 in Turkish gold seized in the Deutsche Bank in Berlin and the \$5,000,000 paid to England on account of two battleships which were never delivered, though this meant a reduction of some £4,000,000 in Turkish gold in the allied claim.

Turkey on May 31 consented to recognize all contracts made between the old Constantinople Government and foreigners up to 1920, when the Angora Government came into power. This agreement, it has been pointed out, would require that the Turks recognize French claims to certain grants made in the Chester concessions.

The conference on June 4 formally accepted the formula for judicial guarantees relating to foreign residents in Turkey following approval by the British, French and Italian Governments. Turkey agreed to appoint four foreign advisers who will be authorized to follow all cases and make recommendations to the Turkish Ministry of Justice; they will receive complaints and must be informed of all arrests and domiciliary searches.

This left payment of interest on the Ottoman debt and the status of foreign concessions in Turkey as the principal questions remaining before the conference for solution. The Ottoman debt issue was referred back to the home Governments by the various delegates on June 2. The allied delegates on June 4 asked Ismet Pasha to consent to insertion in the treaty of a protective clause of some sort regarding concessions, but no agreement was reached, Ismet insisting that concessions be dealt with on an entirely different basis at Angora. This question also was therefore referred back to the Angora Government for solution, and the work of the conference was virtually suspended pending the receipt of new instructions on both these outstanding issues.

## GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE OPIUM TRAFFIC

THE League of Nations Opium Commission met an American delegation at Geneva, May 25, for a joint conference to curb the traffic in narcotics. The American delegates were: Congressman Stephen C. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives; Bishop Brent, Dr. Rupert Blue, Edwin L. Neville, State Department expert, and Mrs. John J. Moorehead of the Foreign Policy Association. M. Bourgeunis presided.

The American proposal was as follows:

"1. As a concrete expression of its principles so far as concerns opium and its derivatives, the following propositions are submitted to the opium advisory committee in the earnest hope that they

will be agreed to and their adoption recommended to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations in order that doubts, if any, which now exist as to the true intent and meaning of The Hague Opium Convention shall be permanently removed.

"If the purpose of The Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent it must be recognized that the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and not legitimate.

"2. In order to prevent abuse of these products it is necessary to exercise control over the production of raw opium in such a manner that

there will be no surplus available for non-medicinal and non-scientific purposes.

"3. Nations which are parties to The Hague Opium Convention are urged to bend every effort to induce nations which are not parties to the convention, or which have not yet enacted legislation to put it into effect, to do so at once.

"4. Those nations which have well-developed chemical and pharmaceutical industries are urged to prohibit importation of all narcotic drugs except in such quantities of crude opium and coca leaves as may be necessary to provide for medicinal and scientific needs.

"5. All nations are urged to prohibit exportation of narcotic drugs, including opium, in whatever form, and coca leaves and derivatives of these drugs to those countries which are not parties to The Hague Opium Convention and which do not have domestic systems of control, including import and export certificates."

The matter was debated for a week. On June 2 the commission adopted a resolution accepting in principle the American proposals, "noting, however, that certain States represented in the commission have made reservations to the following effect:

"First, that the use of opium according to

established usage in India is legitimate under The Hague Convention. Second, that the use of prepared opium is legitimate so long as used subject to and in accord with Chapter II. of The Hague Convention. Third, that the production and export of opium are legitimate provided it is produced and exported as provided for under The Hague Convention."

The result shows that the issue hinges on the construction of The Hague Convention. America holds that the opium-producing States have not been living up to The Hague Convention, whereas the opium-producing States see it differently. The reservations made really work for the Indian and Dutch delegates.

The debate proved that the majority of the nations accept the American idea, but that India principally, and Persia, Borneo, and, to some extent, Turkey, have not stopped their exportations.

The question must now go to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, where unanimous approval is necessary before the International Opium Conference can be called to put measures into effect; even then any single nation can block practical measures of reform in the traffic.

## THE UNITED STATES

THE outstanding event of the period under review was the signing of the bill repealing the Mullan-Gage Prohibition Enforcement act by Governor Smith of New York State on June 1, after a full month of consideration.

Important issues involved in the action had been brought prominently into public notice by a letter written by President Harding to Dr. Wesley Wait of Newburgh, N. Y., who had written the President urging immediate action by Federal authorities if Governor Smith should sign the bill. In his reply President Harding wrote in part:

"Pending the approval of the Cuvillier bill by Governor Smith, this matter is hardly to be regarded as having reached the stage where any Federal authority is called upon for a determination of national policies. With much of what you say, I am fully in accord. Mr. Lincoln said at the time when slavery was still a recognized, established and accepted institution throughout a considerable part of the Union that the nation could not exist half slave and half free. That expression has been accepted ever since as presenting the obvious and conclusive logic of the situation which then confronted the Union. Certainly it would have been still more impressive if there had been at that time a constitutional provision against slavery, as there is now a constitutional provision against the liquor traffic.

"The nation has deliberately, after many years of consideration, adopted the present policy which is written into the Eighteenth Amendment. It is the law of the land and of every State within the Union. So long as it remains the national policy there can be only one course for the National Government to pursue. That is to use every means to make effective the law passed in compliance with this constitutional mandate. To do this will be the unquestioning policy of the present Administration, and I may add that I am firmly convinced that it must be the policy of other Administrations that shall come hereafter.

"The executives of the nation and equally the executives of the States are sworn to enforce the Constitution. It is difficult to believe that public approval will ever be given to any other than a policy of fully and literally discharging this duty. It does not seem fitting, however, to enter upon a discussion of a situation which has not yet arisen. It will be obvious that many complex and extremely difficult situations must arise if any of the States shall decline to assume their part of the responsibility of maintaining the Constitution and the laws enacted in pursuance of it. The States are equipped with police organizations and judicial establishments adequate to deal with such problems. The Federal Government is not thus equipped.

"I venture that if, by reason of the refusal or



failure of any State to discharge its proper duty in such connection, the Federal Government is at length compelled to enter upon the territory and jurisdiction of the State and to set up those police and judicial authorities which would be required, the most difficult and trying situations would inevitably arise."

Accompanying a 4,500-word memorandum stating reasons for his signing the bill, Governor Smith embodied a warning that repeal of the law would not lessen the obligation of peace officers in New York State to enforce to the letter its twin brother the Volstead act.

Governor Smith added this further assurance to those who, while the bill now approved had been before him, had voiced their apprehension that repeal of the State Enforcement act would pave the way for the return of the saloon:

"With all the earnestness that I am able to bring to my command let me assure the thousands of people who wrote to me on this subject, and the citizens of the State generally, that the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law would not and can not by any possible stretch of the imagination bring back into existence the saloon, which is and ought to be a defunct institution in this country, and any attempt at its re-establishment by a misconstruction of the Executive attitude on this bill will be forcefully and vigorously suppressed."

He scouted the suggestion that repeal of the Mullan-Gage law would involve nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment so far as the State of New York was concerned.

"The mere omission to maintain a State statute in no way abrogates a Federal statute," the Governor said. He showed exactly what the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law would accomplish and what it would not accomplish, in his opinion. Repeal of the law, he said, would not make legal a single act which was illegal while it remained on the statute books. It would not make possible the traffic in light wines and beer. It would not interfere with rigid enforcement by the State authorities of the Volstead law. Repeal would transfer prosecution of prohibition cases to the Federal courts. It would do away with "double jeopardy" of State and Federal prosecution for the violation of laws enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment. It would place the State of New York in harmony with recent decisions of the Federal courts affecting prescriptions of alcoholic liquor for medicinal purposes.

#### LIQUOR ON FOREIGN SHIPS

Regulations for enforcing the Supreme Court ruling barring liquor for beverage purposes on all ships, foreign and American, in the territorial waters of the United States and completely ignoring the protests of foreign nations, were an-



Keystone

MRS. MAUD PARK WOOD

President of the National League of Women Voters and one of the American delegates at the International Women's Congress in Rome

nounced on June 3 by the Treasury Department. The new regulations were to take effect at noon on June 10, and any vessel which cleared a foreign port after that date must be "dry" when it entered the territorial waters of the United States and its possessions. Liquor may be retained for medicinal purposes, but in that case a permit must be obtained from a medical officer of the American Public Health Service.

The only feature of the regulations which might possibly be construed as a concession to foreign Governments was contained in Section 14, which provided that if the laws of a foreign country specify the kind and amount of liquor to be carried by a vessel for medicinal purposes, American medical officers shall issue permits covering "such kind and not less than such amount of liquor." Whether this section may be construed to permit the entry of wine or liquor rations

which the laws of some foreign countries provide shall be served to crews was a question. These rations have been carried as ship stores, which are specifically prohibited within the three-mile limit by the new regulations, and apparently cannot be brought in as "medicinal liquor" unless the foreign laws are made so to class them.

#### SECRETARY WEEKS URGES LARGER ARMY

The standing army of the United States stands forty-sixth on the list of active armies of the world and is "too small to accomplish what is intended for it to do," Secretary Weeks said on May 25 in an address at a dinner given by the Association of the Army of the United States. The present standing army "should be brought back at the earliest possible date to the minimum of 150,000 enlisted men and 13,000 officers," Secretary Weeks said. He continued as follows:

"That we are spending 85 per cent. of our budget is utterly false. The official report shows that but 13.5 per cent. is spent for national defense. \* \* \*

"An analysis of the governmental expenditures in thirteen of our largest cities shows that approximately 2½ cents of every dollar of taxes is spent for the upkeep of our army and about 6 cents for army and navy together. In other words, if the so-called peace lovers succeeded in their efforts to abolish completely our military forces, the result would be merely to reduce the dollar of taxation to about 97½ cents.

"We have the best military policy in our history. The National Defense act of 1920 is effective, economical and essentially American. There need be no fears of its excessive cost. The total budgets for national defense are far less than the budgets for many of the minor luxuries of life. We spend more for chewing gum and candy than we do for the army and navy together—less for national defense than for jewelry, perfume and adornment. Our police forces cost more than our national defense."

#### RELATIVE NAVAL STRENGTH

According to a White Paper issued by the British Government on May 17, the British Navy, though still possessing the most aircraft carriers and light cruisers, is completely outnumbered by the United States in submarines, destroyers and cruisers. At present the United States is also the dominant battleship power, but eight ships are to be scrapped under the Washington treaty and five more are shown as being dismantled.

The present battleship strength is: United States 31, Britain 18, Italy 12, Japan 11, France 9, Germany 8 and Russia 4. Japan is to scrap five under the treaty, leaving her effective

strength at six. The Italian Minister of Marine has power to dispose of three ships.

Britain and Japan are the only powers having battle cruisers, there being four in the British Navy and seven in the Japanese Navy, including three which are to be scrapped. Four battle cruisers under construction for the United States are to be scrapped, and two for the Japanese Navy are to be converted into aircraft carriers.

No cruiser is at present in course of construction. America possesses the greatest strength, ten in all, France ranking next with six. There are three cruisers in the Italian Navy and two in the British. Britain is supreme in the matter of light cruisers, for including six belonging to the Dominions, there are forty-eight in the British Navy and four more are being built.

Only three countries at present include aircraft carriers in their navies, the British possessing four and the United States and Japan one each, two of these vessels being built each for the British and American navies, while France is constructing one.

Great superiority in torpedo boat destroyers is held by the United States, the British being outnumbered by nearly two to one. The figures are: Britain 184, United States 318. Only two navies include torpedo boats. Italy possesses seventy, and is building four more. Germany has fifteen. The United States is shown to possess the greatest number of submarines of any of the powers, while a considerable addition is still being made.

#### REMARKABLE NAVAL GUNNERY

The opening of a new era in sea warfare was presaged off Los Angeles (Cal.) Harbor on May 22 by the super-dreadnought Tennessee, when she successfully carried out experimental gunnery exercises at the extreme range of 38,000 yards, or approximately twenty-two miles. The results of the practice are being kept secret, although it was learned from semi-official sources that remarkable scores were made.

The moving target, towed at a ten-knot speed, was completely out of sight from the fighting tops of the Tennessee, and range finding, correction and "spotting" the fall of the shots was done by seaplanes, which flew between the target and the Tennessee.

#### PRESIDENT ON WORLD COURT

A letter from President Harding to Bishop Thomas F. Gailor, President of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was made public on June 7. In it the President told the Bishop of his conviction that the Administration should have the authority to inform the world that the United States stands ready to do its part in promoting "peace and stability," adding that he believes that this could

be done when the United States should be represented in the World Court. The letter in part follows:

"Not many days ago I made the observation to my newspaper callers that I did not believe any man could confront the responsibility of a President of the United States and yet adhere to the idea that it was possible for our country to maintain an attitude of isolation and aloofness in the world. It is my concern first that there shall be an effective recognition of this fact and that those who, because of their positions, are earliest compelled to realize this situation, may be assured the understanding and sympathetic support of the great intelligent public opinion of our country.

"Beyond that I am keenly desirous that the right course shall be found, whereby our favored country may make its largest feasible contribution to the stabilization of civilization, while at the same time surrendering nothing of the advantages and independence which we enjoy.

"After much thought, study and conference, I reached the conclusion that our adherence to the program of the International Court represented a compliance with these conditions. It is a longer step than some would wish us to take in this direction. On the other hand, it is a less advance than some others would wish us to take, but to me it seems to meet the requirements of our peculiar situation, and permits us to say to the world that we are ready for our part in furthering peace and stability, without entanglements or surrender of cherished policy to which we are long and strongly committed."

#### KU KLUX KLAN ACTIVITIES

Announcing through its chief officials that it intended to defy the recently enacted law compelling it to reveal the names of its members, the Ku Klux Klan held many meetings in New York and at least one in a neighboring district in New Jersey late on the night of May 26, and with the usual ceremonies initiated hundreds of new members.

The Klansmen boasted that they were getting members faster than ever before, and that they intended to push their recruiting. They evidently intended that their meetings that night should be taken as a public defiance, for they invited reporters to be present at two of the largest meetings, and told them they were free to tell of anything they saw or heard.

Meetings were held all the way across New York State from Niagara Falls to Eastport, L. I. The one at Eastport was the largest, 8,000 Klansmen gathering there in a huge square to watch the ceremony of conferring membership on 700 or 800 candidates.

The law which compels filing with the Secretary of State the roster of secret societies such as the Klan, and directed particularly at the

Klan, was denounced, and Klansmen said that Governor Alfred E. Smith had signed his political death warrant as far as his Presidential aspirations were concerned.

#### STEEL MEN REFUSE TO CUT 12-HOUR DAY

Opposition to the immediate abolition of the 12-hour day in the iron and steel industry was expressed May 25 at the annual meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute at the Hotel Commodore, New York, by the unanimous approval of the report of a committee appointed by Elbert H. Gary, President of the institute. The committee was appointed at President Harding's request to undertake a study of the situation as a result of labor demands in industrial conferences at Washington and elsewhere for a working day of eight hours.

The report of the committee, which was headed by Judge Gary, said that the 12-hour day in the steel industry was not necessarily injurious to the employes, physically, mentally or morally, and that the present shortage of labor made it impossible to shorten hours without seriously curtailing needed production.

The committee also reported that the abandonment of the 12-hour day in the iron and steel industry would require at least 60,000 additional employes, and raise prices 15 per cent. Later, if the supply of labor should be increased by the removal of some immigration restrictions, and the public should be willing to pay an increased price, the shortening of the workday might be considered.

It was frankly stated at the White House that President Harding was deeply disappointed at the refusal to abolish the 12-hour day. He had entertained a strong hope that it would be either abolished or curtailed.

#### HALT IN BUILDING URGED

The Board of Governors of the American Construction Council, a national organization representing all factors in the construction industry, unanimously agreed on May 16 that the country was facing a building crisis. A program was drawn up designed to avert an immediate depression as well as to insure the nation against future inflation with peak prices and depression from business stagnation.

To relieve the present serious situation it was recommended that all new construction be deferred for several months, that banking interests curtail the financing of speculative building until after the close of the Summer, that wide publicity be given to the increased trend of construction costs of labor and material, and that governmental, municipal and State construction departments be urged to delay their work as much as possible until September or October.



To prevent future crises in the construction industry it was decided that the establishment of an authoritative index of construction costs was necessary. The Department of Commerce will be asked to organize a statistical commission to prepare an index of construction, labor and material costs in order that the public may have the general facts affecting the nation. If the Federal agency finds it impracticable to create the suggested organization, the American Construction Council will undertake the work.

Regulations promulgated by former Secretary Fall of the Interior Department against the leasing of oil and mineral rights to aliens on Indian lands were revoked on May 15 by Secretary Work, Mr. Fall's successor.

On the last day of his service as Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fall annulled the lease of the Roxana Petroleum Corporation, whose Government denied like privileges to American concerns. Secretary Work took the position that his predecessor exceeded his authority, and directed that the Roxana lease be approved. He held that the lands in question were private and not public lands.

At the same time, Secretary Work revoked regulations issued by Secretary Fall on Feb. 27, 1922, in relation to the granting of leases of Indian lands. These regulations were based on the terms of the law known commonly as the Leasing act of 1920, which specified the limitations placed on the leasing of Government lands. Secretary Fall interpreted this act as directing him to refuse leases of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas and sodium lands owned by Indians, when the leases were to concerns controlled in foreign countries whose Governments discriminated against American nationals in like cases. Secretary Work held, in revoking these regulations, that though the Secretary of the Interior was directed by the act to exercise supervision over the leasing of Indian lands, the lands leased by the Roxana Corporation were owned by Indians in fee simple, and the only authority vested in the Secretary of the Interior with reference to them was to see that the rights of the Indian owners were protected in the leasing transaction. Whether the interests obtaining the lease were controlled by foreign nationals did not enter into the matter, Secretary Work ruled.

#### RESERVE BOARD FINDS CONDITIONS SOUND

Federal Reserve rediscount rates will be maintained at their uniform level of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the present because of satisfactory business conditions throughout the country, it was announced on May 22 at the conclusion of the meeting of the Reserve Board's Advisory Council.

In its discussion, the council had before it data from every part of the country which, the official statement said, "indicated that business

is progressing conservatively and on a sound basis." The commercial banking houses appeared able, it was said, to meet the calls upon them and there had been, therefore, no tendency toward an unusual draft on the Reserve Bank for rediscount accommodations.

## AFGHANISTAN

THE rule of equal justice for all, which the Amir of Afghanistan is credited with striving to establish, was illustrated in a message from Kabul on April 27, which stated that Shah Gazi Mohamed Sarwar Khan, a venerable and influential member of the reigning family, had been sentenced to imprisonment in connection with discrepancies in the public accounts when he was Governor of Herat.

The Amir was reported on May 23 to be taking steps to deal with the murderers (who had taken refuge in Afghan territory), of Majors Anderson and Orr and Mrs. Ellis.

## ALBANIA

The political situation in Albania is clearer than ever before. The country is entirely independent and the nation supports the Government, which in turn acts for the interest of the people. There is no outside interference in the internal affairs of Albania. The financial situation is much better than in the neighboring States. Albania has no national debt and the budget is adjusted according to the revenue. The Government is elected by the Parliament, whose members are elected directly by the people.

Relations with Italy are stable. Italy, realizing that Albania would serve as a buffer State between her and the Jugoslavs, believes it to be her interest that Albania should be independent and stable. There have been times when Italy thought Albania could not exist as a free nation, and at such times tried to get a foothold in Albania, but since the clash with the Albanians at Valona in 1920, Italy has been convinced that Albania is able to manage her own affairs. The Greeks have withdrawn their claims to an extension of Northern Epirus, and established diplomatic relations with the Albanians at Tirana, and the Jugoslavs have done likewise.

## ARGENTINA

The Federal Judge at La Plata has placed a temporary embargo on the refining plants of the West India Oil Company, an Argentine subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company, in connection with

the charges that the company evaded Argentine customs duties on oil products valued at more than \$3,000,000.

President Alvear declared in the course of his first inaugural message to Congress that Argentina wished to make clear its sympathetic attitude toward the League of Nations, to which it adhered in principle.

The Government reiterated that it had no intention to enter into an armament competition. No war material, however, had been acquired by Argentina since 1911, and the radical transformation of such materials in the meantime necessitated a total renovation of the existing equipment. It was desirable to increase the number of naval transports and to promote the development of the mercantile marine. A bill dealing with the supply of petroleum and hydro-carbon was to be presented soon, as it was intended to make the country independent in its fuel supplies. The message declares this to be the time for obtaining a foreign loan under the most favorable conditions and terms.

London bankers are endeavoring to have the \$50,000,000 loan for the Argentine Government placed in the London market. The best terms, however, are understood to have been offered by Blair & Co. of New York. That the award will not be made to a London group is the belief of New York bankers, because the issue to be refunded is in term of dollars, and the purchase of dollars with sterling would more than offset the difference in interest rates.

## AUSTRALIA

The Commonwealth Government is considering a proposal to introduce into the Northern Territory 6,000 Russian Czarist refugees at present at Shanghai.

Prime Minister Bruce, in a speech at Perth on May 3, outlined the Government policy for the prevention of overlapping of industrial powers between the Commonwealth and States, systemization of immigration, financing national communications, co-operation with the States in developing electrical power, cotton cultivation and reduction of shipping charges.

The Queensland State elections, which took place on May 12, resulted in a victory for the Labor Government under the leadership of Edward G. Theodore, the Premier. This is the fourth time the Labor Party has succeeded in an appeal to the people. The success of the party has been due to the fact that it is supported, not only by the labor unions, but also by the farmers, who have greatly benefited under the progressive legislation passed by the Government.

In replying to a deputation interested in railway construction, Sir Henry Barwell, Premier

of South Australia, said that his Government would not consent to the Federal authorities carrying out the construction of big railways within South Australia until they had observed the legal and moral agreement to build a trans-continental railway. He added that he had refused to discuss the Hay-Port Augusta project at the Premiers' conference until he obtained an understanding with regard to the North-South line.

The Commonwealth Government failed to secure the concurrence of the State Premiers to the Federal proposals for overcoming the breaks of gauge on the railways. Only New South Wales and Queensland favored the Federal scheme. It was arranged to appoint a board of representatives of the mainland States with a Federal executive officer to prescribe the standards by the construction of the railways affected by conversion and to determine the manner of proceeding to work.

The deadlock between the coal owners and the miners remained unchanged on May 17, though idleness was still limited to the Maitland coal fields.

## AUSTRIA

The success of the Austrian loan under the League of Nations plan has awakened financiers the world over to the advantage of helping the new State to regain solvency. Thomas W. Lamont, the American banker, after investigating the proposed conditions and the European guarantee for J. P. Morgan & Co. in Paris and London, pronounced the investment sound, and agreed to form a syndicate of bankers here to take \$25,000,000 of the proposed \$126,000,000 loan (630,000,000 gold crowns). Preliminary arrangements were completed by him in Paris on May 29, and on the same day it was announced in New York that the offering price of the bonds here would be 90, and that they would bear 7 per cent. interest, making the yield nearly 8 per cent. The London portion of the loan was to be issued at 80 and bear 6 per cent. interest, yielding 7½.

The revenues arising from Austrian customs and Austria's tobacco monopoly are set apart for the service of the loan. It is guaranteed by Great Britain to the extent of 24½ per cent., France 24½ per cent., Czechoslovakia 24½ per cent., Italy 20½ per cent., Belgium 2 per cent., Sweden 2 per cent., Denmark 1 per cent. and Holland 1 per cent. The bonds are expected to produce 585,000,000 Austrian gold crowns (\$117,000,000). The remaining 45,000,000 crowns (\$9,000,000) are to be furnished by the Swiss and Spanish Governments, and rank equally on the pledged revenues, but do not share the Government guarantees. The issue was to be offered in Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Austria and the United States.

The cost of living in Austria in May, compared with the average of July, 1914, computed as 1, was 10,897. Nevertheless the public health has improved. There were 30,068 deaths in 1922 compared with 52,000 in 1918, of which 11,531 were from tuberculosis in the latter year and only 5,552 in 1922.

An angry mob attacked Dr. Seipel on May 16, throwing stones into his automobile after his announcement that the personnel of the State railroads would be greatly reduced. The automobile was damaged, but the Chancellor escaped personal injury.

There has been a revival of monarchist propaganda in the last few weeks and great enthusiasm was shown by the opponents of socialism at their gatherings. Some demonstrations were forbidden by the police and others were confined to the display of swastika badges and the singing of "Deutschland über Alles," showing that some of the stimulus for the movement comes from Germany. Professor Ludo Hartmann, Austrian Ambassador to Germany, in a speech in Frankfort-on-the-Main on May 18 said that Austrians were "hard and fast in their yearnings for union of Austria with Germany." The speech was greeted with prolonged applause in which President Ebert joined.

Austrian emigration is reviving rapidly and one after the other all the steamship agencies formerly represented in Vienna are reopening their doors for business.

## BRAZIL

With the avowed purpose of discrediting rumors which have spread for some time in the United States concerning the payment of interest on the foreign debts of Brazil, the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States has issued a statement in which he says that the new Administration at Rio, which came into office a few months ago and which is to conduct the destinies of the country during the coming four years, has declared in its first official note that it would scrupulously and punctually meet the payment of all financial obligations of the country.

Admiral de Sousa, head of the Brazilian Naval Commission to the Pan-American conference and member of the League of Nations, declared in Buenos Aires on his way back home, that Brazil's aims are simply to put into practice its naval program of 1906, which the war in Europe had indefinitely postponed.

Two prominent Brazilian educators, Senhor Murillo Mendez and Senhora Diva de Campos, are visiting Mexico by special invitation of the Secretary of Education, Dr. Vasconcelos, who wishes to have them made familiar with the life and thought of the Mexican people.

A commercial expedition sent by the Italian

Government to the countries of Latin America will reach Brazilian ports in a short time, bringing not only products of Italian manufacture, but samples of the art and intellectual culture as well. Italy is making this new effort to reconquer markets that were lost since the war.

## BRITISH WEST INDIES

The heavy duty on cocoanuts imposed by the United States Fordney tariff is said to have ruined the Jamaica planters' market. A resolution was offered in the Legislature at Kingston to retaliate by largely increasing the duty on cottonseed oil, but action was postponed, the Colonial Secretary saying that the matter was receiving Government consideration.

Jamaica sugar growers protest against any relaxation of the "dumping" clause in the Canadian tariff which would abrogate the West Indian trade agreement and injure the sugar industry, as Canadian refiners, now purchasers of the Jamaican raw product, would be unable to compete with American refined sugar entering Canada.

## BULGARIA

When the Sobranje (Parliament) assembled on May 22, Premier Stambulisky declared that the two cardinal points in the Government program were the attainment of more moderate reparation terms and a sea outlet for Bulgarian commerce. The offer of the Allies to grant Bulgaria an outlet, not at Dedeagatch, but on a ridiculously tiny strip of land at Makri, where she could build a port, was declined, as the territory through which Bulgarian trade would have to pass on its way to that port was in Greek possession.

For a similar reason, Bulgaria on May 27 protested to the Lausanne conference against ceding Karagatch, on the Maritza opposite Adrianople, to Turkey. This was a compromise which the Allies forced Greece to accept in lieu of paying an indemnity to Turkey for damages caused by her invasion of Asia Minor. The Bulgarian spokesman at the conference called attention to the fact that territory taken from Bulgaria at the end of the war was thus ceded to one of her allies in that war. The railroad which would furnish Bulgaria's outlet to the sea would pass through the territory of two foreign powers should the cession of Karagatch be consummated.

Before the Sobranje had time to settle down to work, the Bulgarian Government was overthrown by a coup d'état which took place at 3 o'clock on the morning of June 9 by an organization of reserve officers, who had long been making their plans and who were sup-



ported by the army and the provincial garrisons. All the Ministers, with the exception of Premier Stambulsky, were arrested and a coalition Government was formed from all the opposition parties except the Communists, as follows:

Professor H. ZANKOFF—Premier;  
CHRISTO KALLOFF—Foreign Affairs;  
Colonel VOULKOFF—War;  
ROUSEFF—Interior;  
MOLOFF—Education;  
BOBOCHEVSKI—Commerce and Industry;  
STOLEKTCHEFF—Public Works;  
THEODOROFF—Finance;  
KAZASSOFF—Railways;  
SMILOFF—Justice.

Professor Zankoff and Professor Meletieff, rector of the University of Sofia, took an active part in forming the new Ministry, and they immediately proclaimed a state of siege.

King Boris was involved in the revolt and telegraphed to M. Theodoroff, head of the Bulgarian delegation at Lausanne, telling him that a new Government had been established without bloodshed and with the full approval of the King. The Greeks at Lausanne were said to be very much pleased with the change. Venizelos considered that the revolution opened the way to a new Balkan alliance, which would include Bulgaria, and that there would be a reversal of Stambulsky's policy of friendliness with Turkey.

The revolt was evidently one of the bourgeois and dwellers in cities against the agrarians, who had dominated the country since the war. The former ruling classes were deprived of their influence by the agrarians, and the Ministers believed to be responsible for Bulgaria entering the war on the side of Germany were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The agrarians had 212 seats out of the 245 in the Parliament elected on April 22, the Opposition union having 15, the Socialists 2 and the Communists 16, but in many cases Opposition candidates were arrested and voters intimidated, which caused considerable irritation and made it easier to change the dissatisfaction into revolt.

As these pages were going to press the latest dispatches indicated that the agrarians were preparing to fight the new Government, and that there was a serious possibility of the country being plunged into civil war. Agrarian risings were reported from several villages, and one message stated that Stambulsky, with agrarian guards and villagers, was fortifying Slavitz (Slavovitza), which was being besieged by troops. Another report was that Stambulsky was organizing a peasant militia and marching on the capital. In the June number of this magazine the condition of Bulgaria under the Peasant Government was dealt with in an article by Constantine Stephanov.

## CANADA

American settlers in Canada are now estimated to number about 1,000,000, most of them being found on farms in the Western Provinces. United States citizens account for 30 per cent. of the settlement of nearly 100,000,000 acres of Western Canadian land as against 20 per cent. on the part of immigrants from Great Britain. American citizens have also been the heaviest purchasers of privately held improved lands and farms. According to the Canadian Pacific Railway, American emigration to Canada reached its height in 1913 when 139,000 American citizens crossed into the Dominion. Since the war the average has been about 50,000 until 1922, when only 24,000 arrived.

A move for reciprocity with the United States in regard to agricultural products was made in the House of Commons at Ottawa on May 11 by W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance. He proposed a 50 per cent. reduction in the duties on the general agricultural list.

On May 23 the budget proposals of Prime Minister King were accepted by the House of Commons by a majority of 8, the vote being 114 to 106.

Andrew McMaster, Liberal member of Brome (Quebec), announced on May 21 that, owing to his dissatisfaction with the protectionist character of the Dominion Government's budget, he would cross the floor of the House of Commons and join the Progressives. Mr. McMaster was financial critic for the Liberal Party and was one of the authors of the low tariff plank of the party's platform in 1919. He has always held strong free trade views.

The year 1922 was one of the busiest years in the history of the Port of Quebec. Exports amounted to \$12,984,029 and imports to \$16,629,584. The total number of vessels entering the port was 601, with a tonnage of 3,588,530.

Anti-"Red" action was continued by the Government against the agitators in Nova Scotia, the main purpose apparently being to prevent "Red" leaders establishing a foothold on Cape Breton.

On May 27 seventy-eight families were rendered homeless and 50 buildings were destroyed by a fire which ravaged the southern portion of the holiday resort of Ste. Agathe.

## CHILE

With the closure of the Fifth Pan-American Conference last month the activities of the Chilean Government have turned again to the preparation of its arguments and data to be submitted by special delegates to the President of the United States, who is to arbitrate the validity of the Ancon Treaty in regard to the award of the Prov-

inces of Tacna and Arica. A new delegate has been added to the Chilean commission sent to Washington in the person of Rivas Vicuna, former Minister to Venezuela. The first document to be submitted must be presented before Sept. 18, the date on which the respective allegations will be exchanged, the delegations having a period of three months to prepare their refutation.

The criticisms of the accomplishments of the Pan-American Conference have stirred some of the delegates to sharp denials and counter-attacks. Mr. Agustin Edwards, President of the conference, declared at a gathering of the Pan-American Society of the United States at a luncheon given in his honor during his brief stay in New York on his way back to his post of Minister in London, that the lack of results respecting limitation of armament, on which account the conference is held by liberal opinion as a failure, was one of nineteen propositions presented to the conference, the majority of which obtained favorable action by the committees.

The impression in European circles, as reported by a correspondent of *La Nacion* of Buenos Aires, is one of unmingled gratification. From the European point of view, all the new peoples of America suffer from the same impotence as Europe when faced by analogous problems. With the elimination of Brazil, Bolivia and Mexico, the causes of immediate friction were removed beforehand, but, nevertheless, six weeks of debates proved that the charge often made against the inability of Europe to solve her international rivalries can also be applied to the New World democracies.

A statement given out by the Argentine Embassy in Washington says that Argentina laments the fact that no agreement was reached in the proposal for the reduction of armament. Argentina's constant policy had been to limit her expenditures.

Ambassador Fletcher, head American delegate to the Santiago conference, in a report to the Secretary of State, affirms that the amount of things accomplished during the fifth meeting of the representatives of all America has been greater than at any previous gathering of its kind.

Contrary to reports, Easter Island, the furthestmost possession of Chile on the Pacific, did not sink during the earthquake of last November.

A scientific expedition headed by the American geologist Bailey Willis has just reached Valparaiso after an inspection trip to the Islands of San Felix and San Ambrosio, in Northern Chile. It verified the report of Captain Campbell of the steamship *Martha* as to the havoc wrought by the November earthquake and tidal wave there.

Ambassador Mathieu, representing the City of Santiago, Chile, received a flag presented to the Chilean capital by the City of Philadelphia as a token of international courtesy and friendship.

## CHINA

Negotiations between the Peking Government and the Shantung brigands for the release of the foreign captives taken in Lincheng seemed still of doubtful issue on June 9. Strained relations with Japan had aggravated the situation just as the Chinese Cabinet had presented its collective resignation to President Li Yuan-hung, which he refused to accept. Complications were increasing, growing out of clashes between Chinese and Japanese subjects. In the south Dr. Sun Yat-sen continued warfare with varying success about Canton. Parleys with the Shantung brigands were continuing at the time when these pages went to press.

The Chinese Foreign Office, on June 8, sent a note to Tokio demanding certain satisfactions of the Japanese Government in connection with rioting at Changsha, Province of Hunan, June 2, and at Shasi, Province of Hupeh, May 15. This rioting was the result of the movement that has swept China during the last few months for a boycott of all things Japanese in retaliation for Japan's refusal to abrogate the famous "twenty-one demands" treaty of 1915. In both these places Chinese students and other demonstrators attempted to search Japanese vessels for Japanese goods consigned to Chinese merchants. Rioting ensued. Japanese marines were landed, and in the subsequent clashes a number of Chinese were killed and many wounded. At Changsha the Chinese mob roamed the streets, destroying Japanese property and compelling the Japanese consular staff to flee for protection aboard the gunboat *Fushimi*.

The Chinese note sent June 8 to the Japanese Government demands the withdrawal of Japanese gunboats from Changsha, which is a treaty port on the Siang River; punishment of the commander and marines from the gunboat *Fushimi*; indemnification for the families of the Chinese who were shot down during the disorders; an official apology from the Japanese Government, and guarantees from Tokio that there will be no recurrence of such affairs.

It was announced from Tokio, June 8, that four Japanese destroyers would sail on the morrow from Hasebo to reinforce the Japanese river fleet of three gunboats at Changsha, and that the Japanese Government was prepared to take drastic action in case the Japanese communities in Yangtze cities were further molested. According to the latest reports the Changsha rioters were surrounding the Japanese gathered in the consulate, cutting off communications, food and water. On June 8, also, the Japanese *Chargé d'Affaires* in Peking was ordered to present promptly a protest and demand the immediate restoration of order.

As to the Peking situation, President Li Yuan-hung refused to accept the resignation presented

by his Cabinet June 6. In this Cabinet, which President Li had assembled Jan. 4, were the following Ministers:

CHANG SHAO-TSUNG—Premier and War Minister.

KAO LING-YU—Interior.

HUANG-FU—Foreign Affairs.

The Ministry had threatened to resign in April in consequence of a split between the Premier and the Chihli war lords over the methods of effecting unification. Subsequently, the foreign envoys demanded the release of the captives of the Shantung brigands, intimating that the Chinese Government of the Republic would be held responsible if harm came to the kidnapped foreigners. The Cabinet became further split on trying to devise ways and means to meet the envoys' demands. On June 9 the metropolitan police of Peking went on a strike which, though the pay of the police was considerably in arrears, was regarded as a political move to force the resignation of President Li Yuan-hung. According to latest advices, President Li was keeping close to his own residence and declaring he had no intention of resigning.

For what was expected to be the final session of the negotiations for the release of the eight foreigners still held by the Shantung bandits on Paozuku Mountain, Roy Anderson, the American intermediary, and the Chinese Government envoys set out for that stronghold from Tsao-chang June 9. The Chinese Government Commission was taking along additional clerks to complete enrolment of the outlaws in the army, supplying hundreds of uniforms and paying arrears of wages which the brigands claimed as due them for previous service.

These Suchow train bandits, on May 30, freed two foreign captives—Major Robert A. Allen of the United States Army, and W. Smith of Manchester, England. Next, on June 2, they released four more foreign captives—Jerome A. Henley, American, employed by the Fearon Daniel Company at Shanghai; Edward Elias and Theodore Saphiere, both British subjects and brokers at Shanghai, and Manuel A. Vereá, a manufacturer of Guadalajara, Mexico. The eight foreigners still held, according to the latest reports from the Shantung hills, included four Americans—Major Roland W. Pinger, Ordnance Department, United States Army; Leon Friedman of Chicago and Shanghai; John B. Powell, a Shanghai newspaper publisher, and Lee Solomon of San Francisco and Shanghai. The other foreigners were: Fred Elias, a broker of Shanghai and a brother of Edward Elias, who had been released, and Reginald H. Rowlatt of Tientsin, both British; Emile Gensburger, a Shanghai broker, French; G. D. Musso, a lawyer and capitalist of Shanghai, Italian.

The negotiations had taken various turns; there

had been attacks on the brigands by Government troops, who had to desist when the outlaws threatened to kill the prisoners.

## COLOMBIA

Negotiations for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Colombia and Panama have been interrupted by the difficulty of reaching an understanding as to whether the protocol to be signed should make reference to the boundary question, or omit to mention it, leaving the matter for special negotiations. The United States has been exerting its good offices in the matter, and a favorable result is expected.

After hearing the report of two special commissioners as to the validity of the contract signed with the Western Cartridge Company, the Government has decided to send two members of the army to supervise the delivery of the five million cartridges called for in that contract. The opposition press of the liberal denomination has renewed its attacks upon the negotiations, declaring that, although the commission has given a scale of prices for cartridges manufactured in the United States, it has not considered the fact that European prices were some 30 per cent. lower.

The general election has given a two-third majority in Congress to the Government of General Ospina. The President has called a special session of the new Congress for the purpose of discussing the financial plans of the Executive, the income tax project and the adoption of the budget system.

## CUBA

Cuba is trying to buy back one-fifth of the bond issue of \$50,000,000 floated in New York early in the year. The great improvement in Cuban finances, due chiefly to the high prices planters received for their recently harvested sugar crop, has caused the Government to seek to reduce its outstanding obligation. The \$10,000,000 is still undistributed, and doubtless the bank syndicate would be willing to return it at a price.

While the Federal Reserve Board is discussing the advisability of placing an agency in Cuba, the Royal Bank of Canada has purchased the Banco Gomez Mena, including the bank building and the entire banking business of the Cuban firm. Two separate Chinese banking institutions, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of Hongkong and the Chinese Merchants' Bank of the same city, are investigating the need for a local bank in Havana catering to Chinese interests.

Cubans in New York celebrated Independence Day on May 20. The Cuban cruiser Cuba took



part, sending ashore a Cuban marine band and a company of marines.

The Cuban Senate on June 4 approved a law raising the Cuban legation in Washington to the status of an embassy.

It was announced in Bremen on June 5 that the North German Lloyd would re-establish its prewar sailings to Cuba in September.

Resentment against President Zayas was shown by the House of Representatives on June 6 annulling the Presidential decree for the purchase of the Santa Clara convent, and passing a resolution which forbids the use of public funds for purchases solely authorized by decrees.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In connection with the activities of the Czechoslovak mission sent to the United States to fix the amount of indebtedness, the Czechoslovak Minister of Finance stated to the Budget Committee that America's advances in cash were \$68,825,368.54, and that other credits in the form of uniforms and army stores from European depots amounted to \$20,621,944.54.

Czechoslovak exports continue to increase, reports for the first quarter of 1923 showing that they amount to 2,551,000,000 crowns. Germany and Austria took 40 per cent. of the total, England occupying third place with a total of 282,000,000 crowns.

The crisis of Czechoslovak industry has been passed and unemployment is diminishing. From 420,000 cases at the beginning of the year it had dropped to 404,000 on March 1, and by May 1 was estimated at 340,000. Commercial treaties have been concluded with nearly all the European States, based on reciprocity and a liberal tariff system.

The increased cost of living in Austria and the uncertainty in Germany caused by the French occupation of the Ruhr brought buyers in increasing number to Czechoslovakia and helped manufacturers to compete successfully with their Teutonic rivals. The Czech crown for many weeks has actually been more stable than the English pound sterling.

With the object of protecting the currency from speculation, penalties ranging from six months to two years' imprisonment are provided for persons who purchase foreign currency or specie and pay for it in Czechoslovak crowns, unless the sums are needed for legitimate commercial transactions.

Czechoslovakia and Rumania on May 7 signed at Prague a defensive military treaty for three years, being a renewal of the treaty first signed on April 23, 1921, for two years. Yugoslavia concluded a similar military convention with Rumania on June 7, 1921, to last for two years, which was expected to be extended.

Two hundred persons were reported under arrest in Czechoslovakia on June 7, including a number of Communists, as the result of the discovery at Pressburg of a widely extended espionage plot with Hungarian ramifications.

## DENMARK

King Christian sent the first message over the new wireless telephone on May 11 connecting the Island of Bornholm, in the Baltic Sea, with Copenhagen. The talk between the King and the senior Magistrate of the town marks the opening of the first telephone connection of any kind between the public of Denmark and this island.

Denmark's foreign commerce for 1922 shows an



KING CHRISTIAN X. OF DENMARK

Who has just celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his marriage to the Queen, formerly Princess Alexandrine of Mecklenburg. He ascended the throne in May, 1912

excess of 275,000,000 crowns in imports over exports. For the year 1921 the import surplus amounted to 161,000,000 crowns, while in 1920 the import surplus rose to 1,352,000,000, and to 1,654,000,000 in 1919. The import excess in 1913 was 140,000,000, as compared with 143,000,000 in 1912, showing the import surplus of 1922 to be less than double that of the two prewar years. The doubling of the import surplus has been attained by practically doubling both imports and exports.

In May the Danish National Bank advanced its discount rate from 5 to 6 per cent. in order to check the fall of the Danish crown in foreign exchange, continuous for some months past.

Copenhagen observed the American Memorial Day by decorating the graves of American soldiers buried in a Danish cemetery, where the American Minister to Denmark, Professor John D. Prince, made an address in Danish.

By large majorities both Houses of the Rigsdag ratified the commercial agreement with Russia on June 8, thereby granting de facto recognition of the Soviet Government.

## EGYPT

The Egyptian Constitution, which was promulgated in May, declares Egypt a sovereign free independent State, with a hereditary, monarchical constitutional Government, establishes Islam as the official religion and Arabic as the official language. Chapter two, defining the rights and powers of the Egyptians, ordains compulsory free education for both sexes in public schools. Chapter three provides that legislative power is exercised by the King in consultation with the Senate and the Legislative Assembly. The King has power to nominate and dismiss Ministers; and with the advice of the Foreign Minister, Egypt's diplomatic representatives. The King can create and confer decorations, declare war and make peace, but only through the Cabinet. Parliamentary assent is needed for the declaration of offensive war and all treaties of peace and alliance are ineffective until after ratification by Parliament. No person can be a Minister unless an Egyptian; no member of the dynasty can be a Minister. The Ministers are collectively responsible to Parliament. Mr. Baldwin retained practically all the members of the Bonar Law Administration. The most important new appointment was that of Lord Robert Cecil as Lord Privy Seal, while elected, one Senator for every 180,000 inhabitants, one Deputy for every 60,000 inhabitants. Election is by universal suffrage. Chapter four regulates financial legislation, but makes it clear that the Constitution does not affect the powers or rights of the Egyptian Public Debt Commission, nor the Capitulations. Chapter five covers the organization of the Army. Chapter six, dealing with general matters, provides that the law liquidating the ex-Khedive's property in Egypt and restricting his rights in Egypt cannot be changed. Finally, the King must conform to the principles of the Constitution and must exercise his power through the Cabinet when dealing with the religious establishments or nominations of functionaries or any matters affecting any religion in Egypt.

The first elections under the new Constitu-

tion were begun on May 16. The number of candidates for the two houses reached the remarkable number of 4,000.

In connection with the outrages against British subjects the Egyptian police on May 2 arrested fifteen Egyptians, among whom was Ragheb Bey Iskander, a member of the Zaghoul-ist Executive, a prominent barrister and a notable merchant. On May 31 the Egyptian Government established a censorship over public speeches in accordance with certain powers which had been vested in the British military authorities and which were now taken over by the Government.

Continued activity for the emancipation of Egyptian women was said by the President of the Egyptian women's delegation on her return from the Rome Congress to Cairo on June 4 to embrace two main immediate objectives, consolidation of the branches which were being enthusiastically formed throughout Egypt, and agitation for the most radical reforms in the education of Egyptian women so that they might take their proper place in the social and political life of the country. It was stated that while Egyptian men were still carefully ignoring the movement, it had grown to such proportions that they realized they would soon have to face it.

## ENGLAND

Andrew Bonar Law, who had been Prime Minister since October, resigned on May 20 on account of ill-health. The choice of his successor lay between Marquis Curzon, Foreign Secretary, and Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer. As Lord Curzon is a member of the House of Lords, in which the Labor Party, the official opposition, has not a single representative, he had to give way to Mr. Baldwin, who was appointed Prime Minister on May 22. The composition of the new Ministry was announced on May 25. In forming his Government for the general policy of the Government and individually for their respective departments. The King nominates two-fifths of the members of the Senate, the remainder being there was considerable surprise when it was announced that Reginald McKenna, who had held several Cabinet positions, including that of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Ministry under Mr. Asquith, would join the new Conservative Government as soon as his health had sufficiently improved, succeeding Mr. Baldwin as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Ministers who now form the Cabinet are the following:

STANLEY BALDWIN—Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader in the House of Commons.

LORD ROBERT CECIL—Lord Privy Seal.

The Marquis of SALISBURY—Lord President of the Council.

Viscount CAVE—Lord High Chancellor.

WILLIAM C. BRIDGEMAN—Home Secretary.

The Marquis CURZON OF KEDLESTON—Foreign Secretary and Leader in the House of Lords.

The Duke of DEVONSHIRE—Colonial Secretary.

The Earl of DERBY—War Secretary.

Viscount PEEL—Indian Secretary.

Sir SAMUEL HOARE—Air Secretary.

L. C. M. S. AMERY—First Lord of the Admiralty.

Sir PHILIP LLOYD-GREENE—President of the Board of Trade.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN—President of the Board of Health.

Sir ROBERT A. SANDERS—President of the Board of Agriculture.

Viscount NOVAR—Scottish Secretary.

E. F. L. WOOD—President of the Board of Education.

Sir MONTAGUE BARLOW—Minister of Labor.

Sir WILLIAM JOYNSON-HICKS—Financial Secretary of the Treasury.

Sir LAMING WORTHINGTON-EVANS—Postmaster-General.

The prohibition of the United States Supreme Court against bringing alcoholic liquors within the three-mile maritime limits of the United States was the subject of a communication from the British Government to the American State Department on May 25. It was understood that the British Government contended that, according to international sea law, American port authorities had no jurisdiction over liquor brought into American waters, not for importation, but as part of the regular supplies of foreign vessels, and that there should be no interference with either the physical mechanism, rations or stores of foreign vessels when they put into American ports. In the meanwhile, on May 24, a tentative plan was considered by the United States Government for placing under the jurisdiction of the ship's physician in American territorial waters all wines and liquors demanded by foreign laws for the use of ships' crews. The Treasury Department, however, announced on June 3 its decision to set aside foreign protests, and, with a slight modification, carry out the ban on liquor brought by foreign vessels into American ports.

The question of the detention of British subjects landing in the United States after the filling of the immigration quota, with special reference to the case of the holding on Ellis Island of some first-class women and children passengers taken off the United States liner *President Monroe*, occupied the attention of the House of Commons on May 31. Ronald McNeill, Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stated that the British



Keystone

#### REGINALD M'KENNA

Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Asquith Liberal Administration, who is to occupy the same position in the present Conservative Government. His defection from the Liberal Party has caused a sensation in British political circles. Since 1919 he has been head of one of the largest banks in the world, the London Joint City and Midland

Government had taken the matter up with the United States Government and that meantime the British Ambassador in Washington had been instructed to provide for the physical needs of the detained passengers.

The legal complications in which W. C. Bridgeman, Home Secretary, had become involved through arresting and summarily deporting to Ireland about 100 persons accused of conspiring against the Free State was partly disentangled by the action of the Irish Government in voluntarily returning Art O'Brien, as a specific case, into the custody of the British courts on May 13, thus forestalling further difficulties through a decision of the House of Lords on the following day that it was without jurisdiction to interfere with the order of the Court of Appeals to the Home Secretary to produce the person of the prisoner. As this left the Home Secretary liable to action for false imprisonment, Mr. Bridgeman



tendered his resignation. It remained unaccepted, and a bill to indemnify the Home Secretary was introduced and passed. On May 16 Art O'Brien, President of the Irish Self-Determination League, was brought into the Court of Appeals on the writ of habeas corpus and freed. A few minutes later he was rearrested on a charge of seditious conspiracy against both King George and the Irish Free State, and on May 24, with Sean McGrath, he was charged at the Bow Street Police Court, London, with conspiracy to compel by force of arms a change in the Constitution of the Irish Free State and of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. Of the other deportees, who were brought back to Great Britain, the majority were released.

The King and Queen on May 31 formally opened large additions to University College and University College Hospital, London, which had been made possible through the munificence of John D. Rockefeller.

The by-election at Berwick-on-Tweed on June 1 resulted in the return of Mrs. Hilton Philipson, formerly known on the stage as Mabel Russell. Standing as a Conservative, she had a majority of 6,000 over her Liberal and Labor opponents. Mrs. Philipson is the third woman to be elected to the House of Commons.

## FINLAND

Holdings of foreign money by the Finland National Bank were reported on May 21 by the Finland Chamber of Commerce as amounting to 708,000,000 marks at the beginning of this year; they were increased by March 15 to 836,600,000 marks, but by the end of March they had gone down to 812,900,000 marks. During these three months foreign obligations of private banks in Finland mounted from 899,600,000 marks to 961,600,000. The Finland National Bank is supposed to have accumulated foreign bills in order to sustain foreign exchange rates through a possible lessening of Finnish exports. Dr. J. E. Salomaa, a member of the Faculty of the new university, is now lecturing in the United States.

The Finnish Government last Autumn extended a gracious invitation to M. Gerard and General Böckmann, who were Russia's Governor Generals of Finland under the Czarist régime, and who had been living in miserable conditions in Soviet Russia, to become inmates, with their wives, of Halila Sanitarium in Finland. A delay of several months ensued before they gained permission to leave Russia. The sum of £175 has been placed at their disposal, and a plan for their permanent residence is being formulated. Though there were always strained relations between the people of Finland and the Czarist Governors, M. Gerard, now 85, and General Böckmann, now 75, filled

their respective terms from 1905-9 with a consideration for national feeling that has caused them to be remembered with kindness.

The Russo-Finnish treaty signed at Dorpat in October, 1920, is to be submitted to the Permanent Court of Justice at The Hague when it reconvenes June 15.

## FRANCE

The crisis in the French Government over the Senate's refusal on May 24 to sit as a high court for the trial of Deputy Cachin and his Communist lieutenants for sedition, as M. Poincaré had requested, disappeared almost as suddenly as it developed. President Millerand re-



International

MARCEL CACHIN

Communist member of the French Chamber of Deputies, whom the Senate refused to try on charges of plotting against the safety of France by his activities in the Ruhr. The refusal of the Senate to sit as a high court caused Premier Poincaré and his Cabinet on May 24 to offer their resignation. President Millerand, however, induced his Ministers to remain in office. Cachin and the other Communists will be tried by one of the regular courts

fused to accept the dramatic resignation of M. Poincaré and his Cabinet, and the next day the Premier received an enthusiastic ovation upon his entrance into the Chamber of Deputies. At a subsequent meeting of the Cabinet under President Millerand it was decided that the Communist cases should go before an examining magistrate, and that the Minister of Justice should draw up a new plan of organization for the high court.

A Monarchist crisis arose in France at the end of May. An unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Charles Maurras, editor of *L'Action Française*, was made on May 25. On the night of May 31, followers of Léon Daudet, the chief Monarchist leader, attacked, beat and did serious injury to three Socialist leaders, thereby intensifying the Socialist-Monarchist feud. The arrival of Daudet in the Chamber the next day aroused an uproar. Many Deputies of the Left were prevented only by force from doing the Monarchist leader personal violence. Later in the day pressure from the Deputies of the Left drew from M. Manoury, Minister of the Interior, the revelation of a widespread Monarchist plot against the Government. He disclosed details of Royalist organizations throughout the country, indicating the existence of a complete Fascista machine, each department of which has its staff of officers who receive orders from the Monarchist headquarters in Paris. The arrondissements of Paris were said to be similarly organized. The strong anti-Royalist speeches made by

Deputies Herriot and Brousse so aroused the enthusiasm of the Chamber that on June 5 it voted to have these speeches, together with the reply of M. Manoury, promising to maintain order, placarded throughout the country.\*

French opinion on the Ruhr remained unchanged, the country being clearly behind the firm policy of M. Poincaré. Speaking before the Chamber of Commerce in Metz on June 2, President Millerand denied emphatically that it was at the dictation of the great metal industries in Lorraine that French troops were sent into the Ruhr in an attempt to exploit the German industrial field. Once again he reiterated the policy of evacuation step by step as payments should be made. The recent collapse of the mark served to strengthen French faith in the successful outcome of the Ruhr experiment.

The Senate Finance Commission at the middle of May provisionally balanced the budget for 1923, showing a surplus of 382,000,000 francs. As passed by the Chamber, the budget showed an estimated deficit of 3,700,000,000 francs. Revenue accounts were increased on the basis of revised estimates, and expenditures were considerably reduced.

Appointment of Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister of Great Britain was accepted in French official circles with expressions of satisfaction.

Charles de Freycinet, former Premier, acadé-

\*See the article, "The French Monarchists of Today," by Lowell J. Ragatz, published elsewhere in this issue.



Kadel & Herbert

French Communists who have been hunger striking in the Santé Prison, Paris. From left to right: Hollein, Delcourt, Lentente, Content, Péri, Loréal and Albertini

mician and outstanding figure of the Third Republic, died in Paris on May 14 in his ninety-fifth year.

As a result of arbitration by the League of Nations the last British opposition to the French protectorate over Morocco and Tunis was withdrawn in a convention signed between the two Governments in Paris on May 31. Adjustment of the disputed control over Tangier was believed to be approaching an early settlement by the establishment of a League of Nations commission.

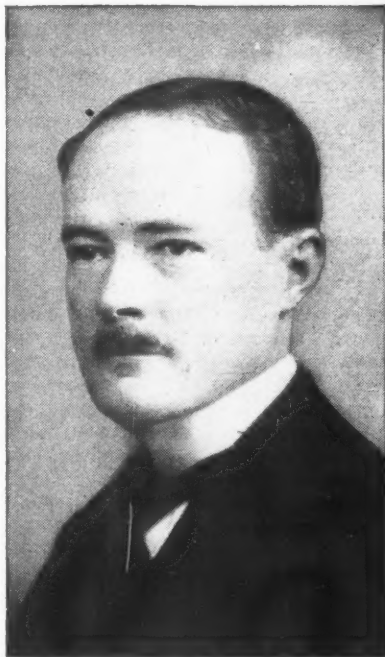
## GERMANY

Decline of the mark far below any previous low level was the outstanding event of the month in Germany. The strike situation and Communist riots in the Ruhr in late May and formulation of a new, or supplementary, reparation offer by the Cuno Government, dealt with elsewhere in this number, shared with the spectacular fall in value of the country's currency as events of significance. The extreme unsteadiness of the mark which followed Germany's earlier reparation offer showed that the Reichsbank's policy of stabilization was of no effect. Though determined if possible to keep the dollar rate steady at something under 50,000 marks, the Reichsbank saw it drop by rapid stages until on May 31 it slipped for the first time below that of the Austrian crown. With only the Soviet ruble to compete with in the field of debased currency, the mark, going on down to 81,000 to the dollar, seemed in a fair way of passing into the class of complete worthlessness. Boerse quotations on "dollar Treasury notes" for late June delivery stood at 92,000.

Such conditions bred speculation of the wildest sorts in all classes. Both the Boerse and the gambling public showed unprecedented uneasiness in the days of early June. On June 5 the mark rose again quite unexpectedly to 62,000 to the dollar. There were hurried conferences between members of the Government, big financiers and Parliamentarians, and drastic and radical measures for control of trading in foreign exchange, it was stated, were in the making. Among high-priced stocks on the Boerse jumps of 50,000 points were common, Mannesmann Tubes leading the market with a rise of 115,000 points in one day.

Rapidity of the mark's decline was equaled only by that of the rise of prices. The 100 per cent. increase in wages granted striking metal workers at Essen was rendered ineffectual. With few exceptions shops in Berlin and elsewhere were feverishly raising prices, but they found it difficult to keep pace with the headlong flight of the mark.

The German Government in early June decided



**GUSTAV KRUPP VON BOHLEN**

Head of the Krupp Works, Essen, who was sentenced by a French military court at Werden (Germany) to fifteen years' imprisonment and a fine of 100,000,000 marks for inciting a riot of his workmen

to repay in paper money, on a basis of 260 per cent. of nominal par value, all parcels of the 5 per cent. war loan which did not exceed 5,000 marks of nominal value. These terms, even with the offered premium of 160 per cent., amount to virtual repudiation, as investors would receive only one seven-thousandth of their investment measured in gold. The Council of the Reich on May 29 adopted the budget for 1923 as passed by the Reichstag. It showed a deficit of 12,400,000,000,000 marks, which, on account of the continuing rise of prices, will be much greater.

Figures for Germany's foreign trade in March, reported late in May, showed imports valued at 503,000,000 gold marks against 446,000,000 in February, and exports at 435,800,000 compared with 360,600,000. Secretary Hughes on May 16 issued a statement embodying conditions concerning export licenses for goods in occupied Germany. These conditions embraced regula-



tions representing concessions by Germany as a result of efforts of the American Government to obtain for American buyers the same facilities granted to other traders, and to end the deadlock of commerce out of occupied territories.

The Berlin stock market showed particular interest in oil toward the end of May as a result of a new Stinnes deal by which he gained control of the Petroleum Industrie Gesellschaft, with the aim of using it in connection with his already extensive oil interests.

The International Socialist Congress opened May 21 in Hamburg, with some 3,000 delegates, many of them women, representing thirty nations, including the United States. The Vienna International, known as the "Second and One-Half," joined with the Second, and a consolidated organization was formed to be known as the Socialist Workers' International, and excluding only the Zionist representatives and the Separatist groups of Russia and Czechoslovakia. The congress in its closing session on May 26 adopted a resolution demanding renunciation of the victorious powers' claims on Germany for military pensions, cancellation of interallied war debts and fixing of a plan of payment which would enable Germany to be freed of her obligations as soon as possible.

According to The London Times, 36,527 Germans emigrated during 1922, compared with 244,097 in 1913.

## GREECE

The situation in Greece continues to be abnormal and perplexing. Under a rigid revolutionary régime, unrecognized by a large section of the Greek people and by the Allies alike, the country is still living in the shadow of war. That Greece wants peace, is not surprising after ten years of almost continuous mobilizations, wars and revolutions. And yet there is a limit to the sacrifices that the country is prepared to suffer for the speedy conclusion of a treaty with Turkey, and for a subsequent return to a normal constitutional régime.

It was in a supreme effort to bring about an honorable peace that the present Government attempted early in June to force matters by delivering to the peace conference at Lausanne what amounted to practically an ultimatum, the gist of which was that should Turkey continue to maintain its uncompromising position and the Allies persist in their indifference toward Greece, the Greek Army would cross the Maritza River and proceed to reoccupy Eastern Thrace.



Communist demonstration in Berlin on the occasion of the arrival (en route for Moscow) of the body of Vorovsky, the Russian diplomat who was assassinated at Lausanne. Large numbers of Communists turned out to witness the funeral procession and show that they were not afraid of proclaiming their sympathy with Soviet Russia.

Whether or not the revolutionary régime was prepared to push matters to an actual reopening of hostilities, the fact remains that the allied representatives at Athens lost no time in notifying the *de facto* Government of Greece that should any resumption of hostilities take place in Thrace, the Greeks would be held responsible for it, while the Turks would be permitted to transfer into Europe all necessary troops from Anatolia to meet the Greek attack. The same warnings were given to M. Venizelos at Lausanne by the representatives of the Allies, who went as far as to inform him that should the Greek Army invade Eastern Thrace, all the allied forces would proceed to the evacuation of Constantinople, thus giving the Turks an excellent base for the organization of their defense.

After many fruitless conversations with M. Venizelos at Lausanne, Ismet Pasha, the Turkish representative, put forward a claim for 4,500,000 gold francs, to be paid by Greece to Turkey in reparation of damages alleged to have been caused by the Greek invasion of Asia Minor. In reply M. Venizelos countered with a claim of 5,000,000 francs for the damages suffered by the Greek civilian population of Asia Minor, Anatolia, Thrace and Constantinople during the unwarranted persecution of the Greek populations of those districts, before, during and after the World War. These conversations were held on May 17, and ten days later an agreement was reached between the two delegates. M. Venizelos offered the Turks the town of Karagach, across from Andrianople, with a triangular piece of territory surrounding it, together with the railroad from that section to the Bulgarian border. In view of this concession Ismet withdrew his demand for a Greek indemnity, although M. Venizelos in principle accepted responsibility for damages caused to the Turks by the Greek expedition into Asia Minor. In this way a preliminary agreement for peace was made between Greece and Turkey.

The settlement of the external difficulty brought about a renewal of the internal agitation for the termination of the revolutionary régime and the return of the country to constitutional practices through the proclamation of a general election.

One of the most important of these questions is the one affecting the finances of the State, which are in a very critical stage, owing to the double drain caused by the keeping of an idle army in Thrace and the maintenance of close to a million unemployed refugees. This situation calls for immediate relief, which will be forthcoming only after peace is signed, inasmuch as no money is loaned to Greece for war or military purposes, while even the loan for the refugee relief will be given only to a constitutionally elected popular Government, representing the entire nation.

As regards the minor problems of Greece, a Serbo-Greek agreement for the creation of a Serbian zone in Saloniki was signed in Belgrade on May 12, between M. Alexandris, the revolutionary Foreign Minister of Greece, and M. Nichich, Foreign Minister of Serbia. By this agreement Serbia acquires the right to maintain a private zone in the port of Saloniki, under a Serbian harbor master and a Serbian collector of customs, but the whole zone to be subject to the civil jurisdiction of Greece. The agreement will hold for fifty years.

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## GREENLAND

The Danish Government has just published the official census of Greenland, taken in 1921, showing a native population of 14,081, of whom 6,729 are men and 7,352 women. The 274 Europeans there are chiefly Danes. The inhabitants live at favorable points on the coast and adjoining islands not covered by glaciers. Of the total area of Greenland—2,170,000 square kilometers—only 88,000 square kilometers are free of glaciers and fit for cultivation or travel. The Danish Government holds a monopoly of the commerce and is gradually developing the natural resources under its control. Greenland trade affairs are administered by a bureau in the Ministry of Home Affairs. Exports for 1921 are valued at 1,517,000 crowns; they include fish, furs, whale oil, graphite and cryolite ore. Imports from Denmark for the same year reached 2,508,000 crowns, consisting of rye, flour, ship's biscuit, sugar, groceries, woollens, cotton, linen, lumber and coal.

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## GUATEMALA

A commercial treaty between France and Guatemala became effective by Presidential decree on May 8, pending ratification by the French Chamber. France grants minimum rates on twenty-nine Guatemalan products, while Guatemala grants most-favored-nation treatment to French products and reductions in duties on seventy-three articles of French exports, ranging from 15 per cent. to total exemption from import duty. Wines, cheese, butter, chocolates and confectionery, toilet articles and perfumery, silk and newsprint paper are among the French products favored, while the Guatemala articles include hides, sugar, bananas, fine wood and mica. The United States, not being on a most-favored-nation basis with either country, is not granted any of the specified reductions.

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## HAWAII

The visit of the Hawaiian Territorial Legislature to Molokai Island puts the stamp of its approval on the effort to rehabilitate the dying

Hawaiian race by returning its representatives to the soil and environment that was their ancestors' before the invasion of the white man. The colony established on Molokai comprises fifteen families of pure Hawaiian blood. Plans for irrigation and transportation facilities are being considered.

## HOLLAND

At the request of the Netherlands Parliament, Foreign Minister Van Karnebeek directed Dr. J. C. A. Everwijn, Minister for the Netherlands to the United States, to represent to the Washington Government in the friendliest spirit the great inconvenience and damage that the shipping interests of Holland would suffer by the enforcement of the law declaring it illegal for foreign ships to carry liquor inside the territorial limits of the United States. On May 25 Jonkheer Van Karnebeek, answering in Parliament questions as to whether exceptions could be made under the American prohibition law for Netherlands ships having the right under Dutch law to carry alcoholic drinks for passengers and crews, stated that he could hold out no hope of a separate convention favoring Netherlands ships, but that Dutch Ministers in various countries were instructed to concur in a joint protest with other powers interested.

The great festivities attending the coming of King Haakon of Norway, who arrived in Amsterdam on June 5 on a few days' visit to Queen Wilhelmina, are generally interpreted in the Dutch press, like the recent visit of the Swedish King, as the forerunner of a closer political rapport between these two Scandinavian nations and Holland.

The delays incurred between Holland and Belgium through conditions of railway service in the Ruhr are to be relieved by a service of airplanes of the Royal Dutch Air Company plying from Holland to Brussels.

The Second Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament passed on May 24, by 57 against 11 votes, the bill of the Dutch Government for a loan amounting to 300,000,000 guilders in favor of the Dutch East Indies.

The Netherlands immigration quota to the United States for July will be largely made up of Dutch farmers, many of whom are leaving Friesland on account of oppressive ground rents and taxes.

## HONDURAS

Clara Phillips, who was convicted of killing Mrs. Alberta Meadows with a carpenter's ham-

mer, and who escaped from Los Angeles jail and fled to Honduras, where she was arrested, was taken from prison in Tegucigalpa on May 24, brought back by California authorities and locked up in San Quentin prison on June 2.

Large quantities of ammunition, with machine guns, rifles and hand grenades, were found on May 23 by Nicaraguan military authorities hidden near the Honduras frontier. It was believed they were left by revolutionists in an attempt to overthrow General Lopez Gutierrez, President of Honduras, in August, 1922.

Civil war was said to be on the verge of breaking out between two political factions planning to control the Government. President Gutierrez called four prominent men to attend a coalition conference. Policarpo Bonilla, Juan Angel Aricas and Vincent Mejia attended, but General Tiburcio Garcias refused. General Calixto Marin, who has been in New Orleans for some time, was said to have Presidential aspirations. Meanwhile Honduran authorities and prominent families are leaving, and women and children were being sent to New Orleans for safety by their husbands and fathers.

Telegraphic lines were reported cut on June 7 and Nicaragua sent troops to the Honduras frontier, fearing revolutionists there would cross the border. The Presidential campaign is on, and there are four candidates, none of whom is willing to withdraw, making it unlikely for any one candidate to obtain the majority necessary for election.

## HUNGARY

A Hungarian rehabilitation plan was approved by the Reparation Commission on May 23. Hungary was bluntly informed that final action on an international loan would depend on Hungary's good behavior in delivering coal and cattle and otherwise carrying out the terms of the treaty, with the exception of cash payments. League of Nations supervision sought by Britain and Italy was defeated by the vote of the delegate representing the succession States and by M. Barthou's two votes as French President of the commission, this being the second occasion on which he was called upon to vote. The plan, besides eliminating League supervision, provides that a committee representing the Reparation Commission shall go to Hungary to investigate conditions there.

The treaty of commerce between Hungary and Esthonia, signed last October, has been ratified. Goods from Esthonia are to enjoy the lowest Hungarian rates accorded to any third power. Those from Hungary are subject in Esthonia to the general tariff rate, without the most-favored nation treatment.





Underwood

**MISS TATA**

The first Hindu woman to be called to the bar and a leader of the feminist movement in India

**INDIA**

The appointment on May 16 of the Rajah Parmanand and Nawab Mohammad Ahmed Said, Khan of Chattari, as Local Self-Government Minister and Education Minister, respectively, in the Government of the United Provinces, was, in spite of adverse criticism, regarded as likely to command the confidence of Indian members of the Legislative Council, where landlords predominated. Both the Rajah Parmanand and the Nawab of Chattari are titled landlords.

The failure of the Alliance Bank of Simla on April 27 was followed by the closing of the doors of Amritsar National Bank, a native institution, on May 15. The difficulties of both institutions were apparently due to local causes.

Though an Indian loan of £20,000,000, offered on the London market, was only 49 per cent. subscribed, the result was better than anticipated, with the stock quoted at a small premium.

About seventy Indians who were said to have been trained in the Moscow school of Bolshevik propaganda and to have returned to India by way of Central Asia, have been arrested. It was

stated in Cawnpore on May 17 that after the recent arrest there of Shaikat Usmani, original documents found in his possession proved him to have been in constant receipt of Bolshevik instructions and of financial help from outside India.

The Allahabad High Court of April 30 delivered the judgment in the appeal case of 170 persons convicted in connection with the Chauri-Chaura murders. The death sentence on nineteen of the ringleaders was confirmed, while 110 persons found guilty of murder had their sentences commuted to transportation for life, with a recommendation to mercy in the case of all except fourteen. Thirty-eight were acquitted and the remainder had their sentences modified. The recommendations were accepted by the Governor-in-Council on May 4.

As the result of the murder of Mrs. Ellis at Kohat on April 14, fifteen airplanes made a demonstration over Tirah against the tribes on May 8, thus compelling them to attend a common jirgah on May 12. The Afridi and Orakzai mullahs and chiefs there informed Sir John Mafey, Chief Commissioner for the Northwest frontier, that the murder gang had fled to



International

**THE MAHARAJAH OF MORVI**

Ruler of one of the richest provinces of India and himself one of the richest of Indian Princes. His recent accession to the throne was the occasion of brilliant ceremonies

Afghanistan, but that they would in future treat the gang members as enemies and hand them over when caught. The tribesmen consented to a fine of 50,000 rupees and to the houses of the murderers being destroyed, and also to the British having the right in case of future outrage to search tribal territory. The situation in Waziristan was reported to be quieter.

The federation of the Shan States of Burma has been inaugurated at a durbar held by the Governor of Burma, Sir Harcourt Butler, and attended by the chiefs with numerous retainers.

## IRELAND

The determined attitude of the Free State Government to stamp out criminal disorder and reject any peace overtures from the republicans which did not squarely meet the Government's final terms, resulted in a marked decrease of republican activities. President Cosgrave, addressing the Dail of May 11, said that if the Government perceived an honest effort on the part of the republicans or others to make peace, it would deliver the goods, but meantime not a single soldier would be released from duty, since no risk would be taken with people in the possession of arms who did not realize the responsibilities of citizens. Mr. Cosgrave's decision to reject the latest republican offer was approved by practically the entire body of the Dail, including the Labor members.

The desire of the Free State to be directly represented at Washington has not yet been fulfilled because of the clause of the Anglo-Irish treaty which states that in all things not specifically defined therein, "the law, practice and constitutional usage" of Canada shall determine the powers that Ireland may exercise. As the question of a Canadian diplomatic representative in Washington is awaiting settlement between Canada and Great Britain, the appointment of a Free State Minister cannot yet be considered.

The Government on May 28 introduced the seventh land measure making for peasant proprietorship, but the first before the Irish Parliament. As presented by Minister of Agriculture Hogan, the present bill provides for the expenditure of £125,000,000 for the purpose of transforming 70,000 existing tenants, paying an annual rental of nearly £5,000,000, into peasant proprietors. The bill also enables peasant proprietors to be established on untenanted land devoted to sheep and cattle grazing.

As illustrative of the return to normal conditions Ministers and members of Parliament have been seen moving freely about the streets of Dublin, while several have visited their constituencies for the first time since the election last

year. On May 27 President Cosgrave arrived in Kilkenny, formerly a disturbed district, without any unusual precautions being taken for his safety.

Definite abandonment of the republican armed campaign against the Free State Government was revealed in captured documents published by the Government on May 24. Eamon de Valera declared the continued struggle in arms to be unwise in the national interest, and that a period of rest was necessary to prepare for a rally later on. At the same time Frank Aitken, Republican Chief of Staff, ordered all ranks to dump arms, "because the foreign and domestic enemies of the republic have for the moment prevailed, but have not won."

A renewal of republican activity took place in Dublin on May 19, when the new general headquarters was made the target for snipers, patrols near Portobello and Kilmainham were fired upon, and the Vice Regal Lodge and the magazine and fort in Phoenix Park were attacked. The attacks in each case were repelled by the use of machine guns. Two executions were carried out at Tuam by the Free State military authorities on May 30, the condemned men, who had declared they belonged to no political party, having been found guilty of robbing a bank at Athenry. On May 31 the Boyne obelisk commemorating King William's victory at Drogheda was blown up by mines.

## ITALY

The Chamber, by a vote of 225 to 90, passed in November, 1922, gave the Fascist Premier carte blanche to effect bureaucratic and fiscal reforms until Dec. 31, 1923, with periodic reports on progress. His opponents chose thus to wait for a more opportune time to question his dictatorship, rather than invite dissolution then and enactment of an electoral reform bill by a new Chamber which would destroy the old parties. Mussolini's new bill is less drastic than the one he proposed then, but it virtually invites the old parties to efface themselves.

A crisis in the South developed over a difference on the question of monarchism versus republicanism, and culminated, May 21, in the resignation of Captain Padovani, commandant of the National Militia in Naples, and of all the Neapolitan political secretaries and Consuls, besides many other officials of the National Militia. Dissolution of the Neapolitan Fascio followed on the morrow. A large number of the Southern Fascisti, who had been Nationalists, had been causing dissension ever since they reluctantly joined the Fascist Party. Rome was further astonished, on May 31, by the Fascisti's publication of an ultimatum against all their enemies. Printed in Mussolini's own newspaper, the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, and reproduced in all the papers of

Rome, this ultimatum was headed: "Fascisti, Let Us Get Ready for a Battle." In appealing to the Fascisti, it stated that Signor Mussolini was aware that the Fascista revolution should do a great deal more than it had done. He had desired from the beginning to accomplish the revolution gradually in its different phases; the time for the second phase was now at hand. Although a majority of Italians understood Fascismo, there remained many politicians and influential people of the old school who had not learned anything that Fascismo had tried to teach them. The war cry was now raised against these hostile groups, including the aggressive Communist and Socialist leaders in the Chamber of Deputies, and old Democrats, Liberals and Republicans who were either openly against Fascismo or skeptical about it. Declaring that the Fascisti would not lay down their arms or compromise with those who differed from them, the appeal closed with the statement that Signor Mussolini welcomed all parties into the Fascista, but sought none.

Following the dismissal of the Catholic Ministers from the Cabinet last month, the National Council of the Popular or Catholic Party, on May 16, voted by a large majority to co-operate with the Fascist program, and the old Liberal Party expressed a desire to co-operate with the Fascisti to the best of its ability. The Misuri incident, described in the June issue of this magazine, caused the resignation, May 31, of Signor Corgini, Under Secretary of Agriculture. Premier Mussolini had publicly reprimanded him and Deputy Chlotri for publicly congratulating Deputy Misuri on his speech appealing to the Premier to return to constitutional methods. The office of Under Secretary of Agriculture was abolished.

The draft of the new electoral reform bill (approved by the Premier June 3) included a provision for extending the voting franchise to women in municipal elections. The bill abolished nearly all previous restrictions on eligibility.

A protest against alleged discrimination to the disadvantage of Protestant institutions and propaganda in Italy was forwarded to Premier Mussolini, June 1, by the Italian Evangelical Ministers' Association of New York (representing forty Italian churches) through the Italian Ambassador at Washington.

The press has eagerly commented on the survey of Italy's financial situation embodied in the address delivered at the suggestion of Premier Mussolini by the Minister of Finance, Signor de Stefani, May 12. This indicated substantial economic improvement since last November, with cessation of strikes, decrease of unemployment, hard work and regular development in every field of production, improved balance of trade, contracting circulation of bank and State notes, rising stock shares, continued increase of railway

traffic, and reduction to normal of business failures. Persecution of capital had been summarily checked, restrictions and monopolies had fallen, privileges had been done away with, peaceful competition of syndicates was assured, helpful commercial treaties were concluded, and customs duties lowered in the interest of agriculture.

By order of Premier Mussolini, the Italian Consul General at Alexandria personally informed the Emir Mohammed Idrissi el Senussi, at Heliopolis, May 21, that the Italian Government no longer recognizes the treaties of Aragma and Abu Mariem nor the Idrissi's official position or administrative independence in the four cases of the Senussi in North Africa.

Mussolini's participation at Rome in the national celebration, May 24, of the anniversary of Italy's entrance into the World War, was the beginning of his swing around the battlefields of the redeemed Provinces, which was a triumphal progress lasting into June.

## JAPAN

Masanao Hanihara, the new Japanese Ambassador at Washington, in an address to the local Japan Society, May 18, said that "in the whole bright outlook" of relations between Japan and the United States, the question of the treatment of Japanese in the latter country was the only one which vexed the minds of both peoples. His complaint was, in brief, that the Japanese were offended by what appeared to them to be discrimination on account of race or color. Japan, he said, had no desire to send to the United States emigrants who were undesirable to the American people, or any more emigrants, but the Japanese disliked the implication that theirs is an "inferior" race and felt their pride injured because their people were denied rights and privileges which are accorded to other foreigners. The dominant American objection to them as economic competitors with a lower standard of living he did not touch upon.

Japan joined a group of powers which on May 31 made representations to the American State Department protesting against extreme interpretation of the American Supreme Court's recent decision regarding liquor carried on foreign ships in American waters. Ambassador Hanihara represented, orally, that any extreme interpretation would embarrass the Japanese shipping companies which control a large share of the Pacific Ocean traffic.

That commercial interests were backing widespread propaganda in an effort to induce the Japanese Government to reopen negotiations with the Soviet Government at Moscow transpired in Tokio, at the end of May. The Cabinet was too divided on the matter to reach a decision, but expected to take action at a meeting in June.



It was credibly reported that unconditional recognition of the Soviet Government, such as was requested by Adolf A. Joffe, the Soviet envoy plenipotentiary in the Far East, would be withheld. The Soviet Government had assumed responsibility for the Nikolaievsk massacre, in which many Japanese were slain, but insisted that Japan take the blame for the whole interallied Siberian campaign in Siberia during the World War. This Japan declined to do. Little was accomplished in the negotiations between M. Joffe and ex-Mayor Goto of Tokio to narrow the breach between the two countries.

## JUGOSLAVIA

The little island of Lacrova, off the Dalmatian coast, where Richard Coeur de Lion was shipwrecked when returning from the Holy Land, has become the property of the Yugoslav State after a lawsuit brought by the town of Ragusa to seize it under the Treaty of St. Germain as crown property of the Hapsburg family. It was formerly owned by Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria, and was given to his daughter Elizabeth when she married Otto Windischgratz. The claim of the town was upheld by one court and rejected by a higher one. Before final appeal could be heard Princess Elizabeth relinquished all her rights for £125,000, which was paid by the State.

A committee, headed by Congressman Hamilton Fish Jr., is being formed in New York to create public sentiment in behalf of a plebiscite for Montenegrins on the question of whether this country shall continue to be a part of Yugoslavia. Congressman LaGuardia, who is a member of the committee, declared that a plebiscite was promised to Montenegro at the Paris conference. The Montenegrins have been carrying on a guerrilla warfare with the Serbians ever since.

## LITHUANIA

Lithuania and Germany signed on June 2 a commercial treaty for two years, granting most-favored-nation treatment in so far as this is permitted by the Treaty of Versailles and Lithuania's special arrangements with other Baltic States. Each agrees to grant facilities for the nationals of the other to settle and work within its territory. On account of the depletion of Lithuanian forests by the demands of the war, the subject of duties on wood will be specially treated.

The success of Lithuanian farmers in bringing back to normal the production that had fallen off during the dividing up of large estates was indicated, May 18, in the report of Finance Minister Bedrulis, published in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. The harvest of last Autumn showed about 20,000,000 bushels of grain and 4,000,000 bushels of potatoes available for export. Except in the case

of flax, which is expected at a good profit, the State no longer controls agricultural products.

## MEXICO

The Mexican Recognition Conference between the United States delegates, Charles B. Warren and John Barton Payne, and the Mexican representatives, Ramon Ross and Fernando Gonzalez Roa, held its first session on May 14 in Mexico City. The Americans had already made it clear to President Obregon that if Mexico is to be recognized, she must respect property rights; that is, the United States will protect Americans who have bought land in Mexico, whether for use or speculation.

Mr. Warren at the opening session said that the United States would not consider anything else but the complete establishment of the principle of vested rights, but had no intention of interfering with Mexican sovereignty. The three main points of discussion were: foreign debt obligations; satisfactory indemnity for expropriated lands, and settlement of the petroleum controversy arising out of Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917. The latter question, involving the nationalization of the subsoil, was taken up first.

Overwhelming endorsement of President Obregon's method of handling the recognition question was given by the Chamber of Deputies on May 17, when a resolution expressing sympathy with and confidence in the Executive was carried by a vote of 131 to 9.

An exposition of Mexico's laws on the subjects in controversy took up the second week of the conference. Copies of national, State and municipal laws were presented, and Mr. Warren renewed his contention that any understanding must be national in scope and not subject to the laws of the different States, thereby excluding comparison with the anti-Japanese laws in some parts of the United States. It was stated on May 23 that any agreement reached by the personal representatives of President Harding and President Obregon would be binding on both Governments.

President Obregon smoothed the way for settling the land question by a decree increasing the number of acres that may be held by individuals, and assuring the great irrigation agricultural companies undisturbed possession of their lands. He signed a decree on May 29 making immune from expropriation and division lands included in colonization contracts made with the Federal Government. Numerous great estates, secured under colonization concessions, it was said, had been used for raising cattle and other purposes.

President Obregon also signed a decree by which owners of land seized between Huerta's fall in 1913 and May 1, 1917, when the Constitution became effective, are to be fully indemni-



Keystone

EMETERIO DE LA GARZA  
Candidate for President of Mexico  
put forward by the Mexican Na-  
tional Union, a coalition of several  
political parties

fied in bonds of the public agricultural debt. The probable rate of indemnity was said to be the same as that established for subsequent seizures—assessed valuation plus 10 per cent.

The American delegates objected to payment in bonds, and asserted that the Constitution of 1857, which remained in force until 1917, provided for indemnification in money. They made no attempt to validate specific land or petroleum titles. President Obregon on June 5 authorized the Mexican delegates to present definite proposals in order to accelerate discussion.

That enemies both of Mexico and the United States are endeavoring to prevent any reconciliation became evident early in the conference. Threatening letters were sent to the American delegates, and police encamped throughout the night prevented automobiles passing within two blocks of their residence, so that no bomb could be thrown at it from a passing car. A bomb was exploded on the morning of May 4 in the garden of the American Embassy. Early on May 18 a bomb was exploded on the lower floor of

a building in which the American Consulate General is located. Modesto Lopez, a Captain in the old Mexican Federal Army and a General under Carranza, was arrested on May 27, charged with being the author of the bomb explosion. President Obregon characterized the explosion as a manoeuvre to hinder the Government from reaching a good understanding with the United States.

A law passed by the Durango State Legislature limited to twenty-five the number of clergymen allowed each denomination. As there are about 250 Catholic priests in the State, the law led to violent protests. A committee of prominent Catholics, accompanied by a crowd of 3,000 persons, visited the State capital on May 31 to demand repeal of the law. After waiting three hours before the Governor's palace and getting no satisfaction, the mob began stoning the building. Promiscuous shooting followed, ten persons were killed and seventeen wounded.

The first national convention of Mexican women's organizations, convoked by the Mexican branch of the Pan-American Feminist League, was opened in Mexico City on May 20 with delegations from fourteen Mexican States.

## NEW ZEALAND

Returns from the municipal elections on April 21 showed that Labor had failed to maintain the progress it had made in the Parliamentary elections, though the franchise is the same. While most boroughs displayed no increase in the Labor vote, some showed a decrease.

The result of the Parliamentary by-election at Oamaru was announced on May 1, when Mr. MacPherson, Liberal, was found to have defeated E. P. Lee, the Minister of Justice. As the issues were mainly personal, the result had no political significance. As the Government majority was reduced to three, the attendance of Premier Massey at the Imperial Conference in London became extremely doubtful.

Serious gales and floods, described as the worst since 1868, visited North-East Canterbury and Marlborough, from Christchurch to Cook Strait, during the early part of May, causing great losses of stock and damage to property.

## NORWAY

The progress of closer political relations between Norway and Holland, as well as between Holland and each country of the Scandinavian North, was indicated by the visit of King Haakon, beginning June 5, to Queen Wilhelmina, following the recent visit to Holland of King Gustaf of Sweden, both returning Queen Wilhelmina's visit last year to Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

The Conservative Party suffered an irreparable loss in the death, May 23, of its leader, Premier Otto B. Halvorsen, who had been holding his second Premiership since early in March, when the radical Blehr Cabinet was forced out of office by the complications over the treaty then pending with Portugal regarding the admission of strong Portuguese wines to Norway. The late Premier died after a short illness in his fifty-first year. His first Premiership was from June, 1920, to June, 1921. Mr. Michelet, the Foreign Minister, acted temporarily as Premier. The other Cabinet Ministers resigned on the morrow, in accordance with constitutional usage, but retained their portfolios on the reorganization of the Government following the burial of Mr. Halvorsen, when Finance Minister Abraham Berge became Premier, retaining his Finance portfolio. Halvorsen's Attorney Generalship was taken over by Lagmand (District Judge) Rolfsen.

## PALESTINE

The settled purpose of Great Britain to fulfill her Palestine pledge was emphasized by Sir H. Gloster Armstrong, British Consul General, at a dinner given in honor of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization in New York. "The British Empire received the mandate," the Consul General declared, "and it was an honor to Britons to receive it. The British Nation is determined to carry out the promise it made. This can best be done by the loyal, unstinted aid of the Jews throughout the world." In his address Dr. Weizmann said the reason Palestine had remained the quietest country since the war was to be found in the personality of Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner. Palestine, said Dr. Weizmann, must remain equally sacred to the Christian, the Mohammedan and the Jew, and the Jews should be the last to cause friction or intolerance. Dr. Weizmann informed the gathering that an international commission would be constituted to decide upon the fate of the holy places.

The ceremony of inaugurating the new settlement of the Maccabean Society at Gezer, near Ramleh, on the Plain of Sharon, was performed by Sir Herbert Samuel on May 8. This settlement is the first British Jewish colony in Palestine.

The Palestine Government on May 19 issued the following statement regarding a report emanating from Arabian official quarters that British consent was to be given to the inclusion of Palestine in a confederation of Arab States: "With reference to reports in circulation concerning the treaty which is being negotiated between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty, King Hussein of the Hedjaz, an official statement will be issued in due course. In the meantime it must not be assumed that any change

will be effected in the political status of Palestine."

A statement was issued in London on May 29 to the effect that the treaty, which had been initialed by the British Foreign Secretary, before being forwarded to King Hussein through his plenipotentiary, Dr. Naji el Assil, had now been initialed by the King of the Hedjaz. It was understood that certain details had still to be settled before the final signature of the treaty in London. The treaty is designed to strengthen the friendly relations which began during the great war and have since continued; and, further, to consolidate the interests of the two countries and insure as far as possible permanent peace among the Arab peoples. Among other things, Great Britain will undertake to recognize and support the independence of the Arab peoples in Iraq, in Transjordan and in the Arabian peninsula with the exception of Aden. So far as Palestine is concerned, the statement continued, the present administration will continue while the mandate given to Great Britain by the Allies is in force, but the civil and religious rights of the Arabs, which are protected by the mandate, will be in no way prejudiced. Moreover, if the Arabs in Iraq, Transjordan and the Hedjaz desire to enter into any convention for the purposes of customs or other purposes with a view to an ultimate Arab federation, Great Britain will use her good offices to further these ends in the event of these offices being invoked by all the parties concerned. The treaty provides that facilities shall be given by both the high contracting parties to further the pilgrimage and welfare of all Moslem subjects, including Moslem British subjects, desirous of visiting Mecca. During the continuance of the treaty neither of the high contracting parties will enter into any treaty or agreement with a third party which would be prejudicial to the interests of the other party.

Owing to the decision of the Arabs to boycott the elections to the Legislative Council, as a protest against Zionist aims, an Order-in-Council was published in Jerusalem on May 18 declaring the elections null and void. Further announcement was made that, pending new elections, an advisory council would be constituted and the High Commissioner would consult this council as occasion might require "on matters affecting the peace, order and good government of the country."

## PANAMA

An issue of \$4,500,000 in bonds of the Republic of Panama was floated in New York on May 25 to construct new highways and develop the country's resources. The loan is guaranteed by the constitutional fund of \$6,000,000 invested in first mortgages on New York City real estate. The bonds are 30-year 5½ per cent. gold bonds



and bring the funded debt of Panama up to \$7,000,000, of which \$6,148,000 is external debt.

Three American Army airplanes, one hastily fitted out as an ambulance and the other two carrying doctors, flew 340 miles into the heart of Chiriqui, the wildest province of Panama, and saved the life of Mrs. Helen T. Gaige, wife of Frederick M. Gaige, Professor of Entomology at the University of Michigan, who was accidentally injured by the discharge of a shotgun.

## PANAMA CANAL ZONE

The Panama Canal on May 26 collected \$136,000 in tolls, for the first time in its history exceeding \$100,000 in a single day. Twenty-five ships passed through, including the Cunard liner Samaria, which was completing a round-the-world trip.

In April 420 ships went through the canal and the tolls amounted to \$1,878,994, an increase of nearly 80 per cent. over April, 1922. In the six months ended May 1 there was collected \$9,212,959, which compares with \$5,550,633 in the corresponding period of the previous year. Oil tankers account for nearly half of the Panama Canal tonnage.

## PERSIA

Reza Khan, the War Minister, has introduced in the Mejliss (the Persian Parliament) a bill for compulsory military service for the purpose of building up the Persian Army to such a strength as will insure Persia the respect of her neighbors. That the country cannot afford a large army is a consideration that carries no weight with Reza Khan, whom not even the Financial Adviser, Dr. Millspau, can control, and who insists that the money will have to be found even if all the Government departments, with the sole exception of the Ministry of War, have to be closed down.

Great interest is being taken in the forthcoming elections. The campaign is developing into a duel between Reza Khan's party and all the other political groups. If a large number of the War Minister's candidates should be returned Persia will come under the complete control of Reza Khan, who is regarded as the "strong man" of present-day Persia.

## PHILIPPINES

Governor General Wood announced on May 20 that he would call a special session of the Philippine Legislature to enact important legislation liberalizing the shipping, forestry and mining laws to attract outside capital. The forestry bill, which will be urged by General Wood, provides for conditions under which large tracts

may be leased to corporations for rubber plantations. The special session is considered necessary because the Legislature, after sitting for 100 days, had passed only one unimportant bill before adjournment.

Representative Frear of Wisconsin in a public letter on May 20 attacked General Wood for charging members of Congress with accepting money from the Philippine Independence Fund. He intimated that American big business with connections in the islands was opposed to granting independence, and alleged General Wood favored these interests. General Wood in reply said no information of any kind ever had reached him that any member of the American Congress had received money from the independence fund, and denied that he had made the statements attributed to him.

Akbara, a fanatical religious leader of the Moros, and 52 of his followers were killed in battle with Filipino constabulary on the Island of Pata on June 1. Thirty were also killed in a battle on May 19. Akbara's death is expected to end the Mohammedan uprisings which have disturbed the island for the last three years. Following the killing of the "bullet-proof prophet," 800 Moros surrendered to the American forces.

The American Army transport Merritt sailed from Olongapo on May 26 with 529 Russian refugees, made exiles by the Soviet occupation of Vladivostok, who have permission of the American Government to make their homes in this country. Admiral Stark, their leader, and 36 of the original list remained behind. About half the men are mechanics, 100 farmers, 40 seamen, 27 fishermen, 13 wireless operators and 10 engineers. Admiral Stark in bidding them farewell urged them to be thankful to America for admitting them and transporting them free of charge. Two days after sailing, when 600 miles out, the Russian stokers struck and the Merritt returned to Iva, Zambales, pending the arrival of the mine sweeper Harrison with a relief crew. These difficulties were later adjusted and the ship continued on its way.

The American Supreme Court on May 21 upheld the action of the Philippine authorities in refusing admittance to the islands of Dharndas Tulsidas and other natives of British India. They were industrial partners in the Bengal Bazaar, a large silk store in Manila, and claimed exemption from the immigration laws.

Japanese farmers, who abandoned hemp plantations in Mindanao two years ago because they could not make a living, are now returning on account of the high price of hemp.

The Bureau of Education reports 8,174 schools in the Philippines, of which 7,641 are public schools and have 1,094,472 children, while there are 533 private schools with an attendance of

64,835. There are in all 24,878 teachers, 341 of whom are Americans.

## POLAND

The fall of the Sikorski Cabinet came on May 26 on the occasion of the Diet's discussion of the temporary budget. Premier Sikorski delivered a résumé of the work accomplished by his Cabinet, and outlined its program for the future. There was opposition to the budget article relating to supplementary (secret service) funds at the disposal of the Premier and Foreign Minister. Behind this opposition, according to Jewish sources, was hostility on the part of national minorities, especially to Premier Sikorski's order of April 15 directing expulsion from Poland of refugees from the Ukraine. The Premier moved for a vote of confidence, but the Government was outvoted by a combination of the national minorities, the Right bloc, and the Right wing of the Populist Party, 179 deputies voting against the additional credit, 117 for it, and 6 abstaining from voting.

The Ministers immediately left the session, and Premier Sikorski handed to President Wojciechowski the collective resignation of the Cabinet. This the President accepted with the request that the resigning Ministers remain in control of affairs until the formation of a new Cabinet. This task was accomplished by May 29, when the following new Ministry was announced:

VINCENT WITOS—Premier.  
 LADISLAS KIERNIK—Interior.  
 MARJAN SEYDA—Foreign Affairs.  
 LADISLAS GRABSKI—Finance.  
 (Senator) STANISLAS NOWODWORSKI—Justice.  
 STANISLAS GLABINSKI—Education.  
 GEORGES GOSCICKI—Agriculture.  
 LADISLAS KUCHARSKI—Commerce.  
 LEON KARLINSKI—Railways.  
 JEAN MOSZCZENSKI—Posts (Postmaster General).  
 JEAN LOPUZANSKI—Public Works.  
 ALEXANDRE OSINSKI—Military Affairs.  
 LOUIS DAROWSKI—Labor.  
 GEORGES BAJALSKI—Hygiene.

From the new bloc in the Diet, the Left Wing of the Populist Party (Piast), numbering fourteen Deputies, headed by M. Dombki, ex-Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, held aloof. They announced their secession in a letter to the President of the Witos Club, and, together with Senators Wyslough and Krzyzanowski, formed a new Parliamentary club, under the Presidency of M. Dombki. The Chamber gave the new Government a vote of confidence, 226 to 171, on June 2.

In connection with Poland's trouble with Danzig, M. Skrzynski, the Foreign Minister of the Sikorski Cabinet, told the Senate, May 18, that all reports that the Government or anybody in

Poland would use illegal, violent means to induce Danzig to accept the Polish demands were unfounded and of unfriendly origin. "It is the Danzig Senate whose stand in opposition to the Versailles Treaty is illegal," added Minister Skrzynski. "Poland is trying to bring Danzig back upon juridical ground and to secure by legitimate measures for the defense of her nationals Danzig's recognition of the sovereign rights of Poland recognized in the Treaty of Versailles." On May 20 the Sejm (Parliament) unanimously passed a motion submitted by its Committee on Foreign Affairs calling on the Government to exercise all legal, political and economic means to secure for Poland her rights under Paragraph 104 of the Versailles Treaty.

A considerable outburst of popular feeling in Poland resulted from the occupation of the Danzig Chamber of Commerce building, in the middle of May, by the Danzig police.

Great popular and official honor was given to Lord Cavan, Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, when, on May 16, he arrived in Poland with Lady Cavan to return General Sikorski's visit to England last year. Great significance was attached by the press to this visit and to that of Marshal Foch.

Marshal Pilsudski, on May 3, according to the newspapers, handed to the Acting Minister of War his resignation as Chief of the Polish General Staff and President of the War Council, and informed him of his decision to retire from the army.

Premier Witos read to the Chamber of Deputies, June 1, a statement of the new Cabinet's intentions: "Although not possessing the confidence of all parties, the Government does not consider itself merely a Cabinet of the supporting parties. The Polish majority is far from chauvinistic in regard to national minorities. Abiding strictly by the Constitution, the Government will tolerate no illegal organization seeking to introduce force and terror into the political struggle." Other aims were: peaceful relations with neighbors, but necessary consolidation and development of relations with the Allies, France, England and Italy, and to attain the closest relations with the other allied and associated powers, "especially Belgium, Japan and America, to whose humanitarian aid Poland owed much and where live several millions of Polish emigrants who feel keenly their ties to the mother country"; co-ordination of Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav policies toward Central European problems, as these relations, including the Baltic countries, will consolidate the peace of Europe; establishment of neighborly relations with Germany while defending "all that is in our possession by the Treaty of Versailles or historic national moral rights."

Though Poland desires realization of the Treaty

of Peace with Russia, continued Premier Witos, "unfortunately the Soviets do not carry out their engagements and by deeds upsetting the conscience of the world oppose the establishment of normal relations.

"In spite of incessant provocations of Lithuania, the Polish Government, confident in the strength of its right, does not wish to doubt the eventual understanding by Lithuania that its own vital interest is to orient itself toward Poland as a natural supporter of the future of independent Lithuania.

"Danzig must carry out its engagements imposed by the Treaty of Versailles."

In domestic policy the Government would practice economy and increase taxes in continued efforts to balance the budget; agrarian reform projects would be completed, and labor legislation would be expanded, especially in the field of social insurance.

Poland was mystified by a series of bomb explosions, the last week in May, in Cracow, especially in the university, the only apparent object of which was the wilful destruction of property.

## RHODESIA

The trial of seven natives charged with the murder of a young native named Manduza, who was burned as a sacrifice to the rain goddess, concluded at Salisbury on May 24. Six of the accused were found guilty, and sentenced to death, but recommended to mercy. Manduza had been burned alive in a remote part of the Mount Darwin district in order to appease the rain goddess and break the severe drought, which the natives ascribed to the wrath of the goddess at being violated. A chief named Chigango conducted inquiries which led him to believe that Manduza, his son, had violated the goddess, and thereupon, in accordance with custom, he, it is said, ordered Manduza to be burned alive. Chigango was among the men charged with the crime. The aged Paramount Chief of the tribe which perpetrated the crime, Chiswiti, was found not guilty. The rain goddess, who is a young girl, did not give evidence. The Native Commissioner testified to the peculiar customs of the natives, declaring the natives were taught where their own laws conflicted with the white man's law. Counsel for the defense commented on the high motives which led Chigango to sacrifice his own son for rain in order to save the tribe from drought, and referred to parallel cases in Hebraic and Semitic history.

## RUMANIA

At the University of Bucharest the anti-Semitic undergraduates have been continuing their savage

warfare against the Jewish students, who are often beaten with "life preservers." The Rumanian Fascisti threatened that continued attendance by Jewish students and professors would lead to their deaths. One Jewish member of the Faculty, Professor Reiner, was informed by telephone that he would be murdered if he resumed his lectures. Serious fighting occurred on the campus on May 24, in which eight Jewish students were so badly beaten as to require hospital treatment.

At Temesvar 4,000 students were said to have enrolled to fight the Jews. Professor Jacobovici, acting rector of the University of Klausenberg, had a narrow escape from death on May 29 when a bullet was fired at him by one of a crowd of Fascista students.

The United States medal of honor for military valor was presented by the American Minister to Rumania on the occasion of the burial of the unknown Rumanian soldier at Bucharest on May 17.

French and British delegates have gone to Bucharest to settle the question of compensating the owners of Rumanian oil fields destroyed by the Allies to prevent them falling into the hands of the Germans. The delegates were to seek ratification of the accord reached by Sir Basil Blackett in 1920, whereby the Rumanian war debt to the Allies will be offset by Rumania's claims for damages, estimated at about \$50,000,000.

## RUSSIA

After considerable correspondence and side conferences over the British note of May 7, amounting to an ultimatum to the Soviet Government, Lord Curzon's diplomatic victory was complete by June 6, when Russia yielded to the last of the British demands. The terms of the British note, which was published in London on May 9 as a White Paper, were as summed up in the June issue of this magazine. In the first of its two replies to the ultimatum, the Soviet Government acceded to the British demands for reparation for injuries to British subjects and cessation of the seizure of fishing craft outside of the three-mile limit. The insulting notes addressed by the agent of the Soviet Government to the representative of Great Britain in Moscow, concerning the trials of clergymen and the anti-religious campaign, were formally withdrawn with a sort of apology. Instead, however, of satisfying the most serious British complaint, concerned with anti-British propaganda in Persia, Afghanistan, India, and other Oriental countries, Russia merely proposed a conference, which the British feared would lead nowhere, and which they therefore firmly refused.

Nevertheless, the conciliatory tone of the Russian reply caused general surprise. After all the



chauvinistic talk addressed by Trotsky to his Red army; after all the defiant parades and meetings of protest in Moscow; after an apparent attempt to screw up the courage of the Russians to go to war with England if necessary to maintain the



International

MME. KALININ

Wife of the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet Congress

national honor, there had been expected a tart rejection of the British demands. These were all finally complied with when, in the first week of June, the Russians announced their willingness to "reduce the personnel of the legations in Afghanistan, Persia and Khiva (Russian Turkestan)," and to consult the British on the successors to any of the men removed who may need substitutes. In this final reply, received in London June 5 by Leonid Krassin, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade, who had been sent to London to negotiate the Russo-British difficulties, Moscow made one reservation, refusing to recognize the principle of compensation for all England's claims for injuries to her nationals. The Russians declared this to be a new demand, the original demand relating only to damages for the slaying of C. F. Davison and injuries to other British subjects, which they agreed to pay. Russia expressed willingness to recognize this general principle if England would in turn recognize liability on her part toward Russians who had suffered loss or injury at the hands of British nationals.

In the meantime, Russians had taken note of alarming omens, including Foch's tour of Poland, Lord Cavan's visit to Warsaw, the tour of the French and British military representatives to the Bessarabian frontier, the French loan of 100,000,000 francs to equip the Rumanian Army, Leslie Urquhart's public statements regarding the Urquhart concession, Lord Curzon's peremptory notes, and finally the announcement (June 4) that the American Relief Administration had decided to leave Russia by the end of July.

The decision of the American Relief Administration to withdraw from Russia, as announced by Leo Kamenev, one of the acting heads of the Soviet Government, was taken in view of indications that the forthcoming harvest would afford a substantial surplus of food over all the internal needs of the country. There should be enough to cover by distribution all the prospective needs even of certain small areas that might be short of supplies. The surplus promised a substantial export balance, placing the Government in a strong position to secure foreign supplies of industrial and other materials. Colonel Haskell, head of the Relief Administration, expressed hope of having all the supplies necessary to continue feeding 3,000,000 children distributed by June 20. Besides distributing more than 1,500,000,000 adult and child rations in the two years' work thus completed, the Relief Administration supplied equipment and medicines to more than 15,000 hospitals, ministering to the needs of 80,000,000 people, and will leave these medical institutions with equipment and supplies to last them six months longer. Particular success was achieved in the treatment of typhus, cholera and trachoma, which in the last

century have claimed ten victims for every one taken by the ever-recurring famines. This year cholera and typhus have been practically eliminated in the famine area. The new American treatment for trachoma has given Russian physicians hope of soon bringing this terrible malady under control. The worst disease remaining is malaria, for which no definite cure has yet been discovered, and which cannot be checked until the Soviet Government carries out a wide campaign against mosquitos, as the Americans did in Panama.

In spite of the optimism about the forthcoming harvest, it was learned on June 7 that Russian peasants are resisting the collection of grain levies, although the Soviet has ordered them to part with as much grain as possible for exportation in order to cover next year's deliveries before the end of 1923. Fearing crop failures even more serious than those that preceded the Samara famine, the peasants insist on holding their grain to tide them over next year. Present shortage is reflected in food riots and strikes. In Odessa the tobacco factory hands have joined the dockyards strikers. All the printers in Kiev have struck, and the workers are idle in the metal works at Kharkov, the Ukraine capital, where crop failures are reported to be as bad as those in the Volga and Caucasus regions. Trotzky's plan to hold the Red Army manoeuvres at Moscow in August is believed to be intended to show the strength of the army to quell any incipient revolt.

Feverish activity on the part of the leaders of the Russian exiles, whose capital is Paris and who represent hundreds of thousands of Russians who have fled from the Red régime, has been proceeding during the last two months. New plans have been formed to upset the Soviet rule, according to information made public on June 6. The Russian émigrés seem to have accepted the conclusion that the overthrow of the Soviets must come from within Russia itself, and do not seriously consider further outside attacks upon the Soviet power. Yet, while many thousands of Royalists as well as Democrats are willing to participate in the first extensive uprising, the two are not in harmony. Some of the Royalists favor the Grand Duke Cyril and some the Grand Duke Dmitri as heir to the imperial throne. Still others favor an ad interim dictatorship under Grand Duke Nicholas rather than an immediate effort to re-establish Czarism. The Democrats are divided between the moderate Social Revolutionaries and the Social Revolutionary Left Wing. The former, headed by Ak-sentiev, are willing to compromise with the Republican parties (the Milyukov faction and others). The latter, under Tchernov, do not wish to make friends with the Republicans. Kerensky seems to hover between these two positions, waiting for a chance to make an opportunist choice. All these exiles stick to the belief that financial ruin of the Soviets and dissensions in Moscow will give them their coveted opportunity.



P. &amp; A.

The leaders of the new Russian Living Church, which is officially recognized by the Soviet Government. From left to right: Krasnitsky, Vice President of the Russian Church Board; the Metropolitan Peter of Siberia, and the Metropolitan Antonin, President. An article on the present state of Russia appears on pages 588-597 of this magazine

In spite of the Soviet's seizure, May 18, of nearly \$500,000 worth of foreign-owned property in Vladivostok, mostly belonging to Americans, Leonid Krassin stated to American newspaper correspondents in London, a week later, that the Soviet Government was still striving for closer relations with the United States. Owing to the Vladivostok confiscations, Secretary Hughes, acting under instructions from President Harding, rejected the Russian overtures to send a special mission to Washington to discuss trade relations.

The Soviet Government is relentlessly carrying on its anti-religious campaign. On account of the advanced ages of Rabbi Schneerson and Rabbi Perlov of Gomel, the Soviets, on June 6, annulled the sentences of six months' imprisonment at hard labor imposed for performing rabbinical functions held to be properly the function of the State. The postponement of the trial of the Patriarch Tikhon did not stop the anti-religious campaign which the Soviet Government is conducting all over the country, especially in the Ukraine and the Southeastern Provinces. In Kiev the Metropolitan Mikhail, several Bishops and many priests and monks were arrested and sent to Moscow to be tried on accusations similar to those made against Patriarch Tikhon. At Kharkov, Bishop Pavel and fifteen priests were arrested, and in Krasnodar (Northern Caucasus) the trial of Bishop Yevsievy and eighteen priests and laymen was going on during the last week in May. Similar information comes from Elizabetgrad, Poltava and other places, including reports of frequent conflicts arising between adherents of the new "reformed" churches and those of the old Orthodox Church.

Fifteen persons, all Princes, Generals or noblemen, were executed the last week in May, following discovery of a counter-revolutionary plot in the Soviet republic of Georgia.

Official figures for the last six months show 3,000 convictions for graft in Russia, including sixty-one death sentences. Nikolai Bukharin, editor of the Moscow *Pravda*, recently called for an accounting of \$13,750,000 spent for propaganda abroad.

The burial in Moscow, May 20, of Envoy Vorovsky, assassinated in Switzerland, was attended by 250,000 persons. There was an impressive ceremonial procession manifesting grief and indignation. The body, in passing through Berlin, had been honored by a procession, in heavy rain, of 30,000 Communists. Denial was made by the Soviet authorities, May 30, of acts of revenge against Swiss citizens and property in Russia, as charged by certain Swiss nationals, who sent home complaints of organized pogroms against them. (See Switzerland.)

## SPAIN

War with the Riff tribes in Morocco broke out again the first week in June. The Riff strategist, Chief Abd-el-Krim, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spanish troops over a year ago and collected an enormous ransom for the Spanish prisoners of war that fell into his hands, again assumed the offensive. At the head of enormous numbers of tribesmen who flocked to his standard, he proclaimed a holy war against the Spaniards. To avert the menace to their lines of communication between Tetuan and Sheshuan, and to break up this rebel concentration, the Spanish authorities dispatched a composite force of 10,000 men and three squadrons of airplanes against the strong Moorish entrenchments. After bombing the Moors' trenches, thus inflicting heavy losses, and subjecting them to a searching gunfire, the Spaniards launched three bayonet attacks, but were beaten off with heavy losses. The foreign legion, including a number of English soldiers of fortune and some native regiments, composed the vanguard, supported by several Spanish regiments.

The Moors then advanced to the attack and ultimately compelled the Spanish troops to retreat. The Spanish losses were computed variously, but were apparently about 1,000 killed and wounded, though the Spanish forces succeeded in "withdrawing without further molestation from the enemy."

Spanish difficulties in this Moroccan warfare have been aggravated by the refusal of Britain to tolerate the occupation of the southern shore of the Strait of Gibraltar by a major power. This is also why, in the partition of Morocco, Spain got the coastal region, which seems to be inhabited by the ablest fighters, and with these Spain has had to fight intermittently for years. The Spaniards have done much good fighting, but, for lack of competent leadership, have been unable to make headway against Abd-el-Krim in the Riff district and against Raisuli in the western part of the Spanish zone.

The civil administration introduced this Spring in Spanish Morocco is shown by this defeat to be premature, especially in view of the fact that it was accompanied by army reductions. Internal conditions in Spain have increased the difficulty of the Spanish task of conquering this zone, causing disgrace of Generals, discrediting of military juntas and cliques, and the downfall of Ministries. Yet, with important commercial interest to reinforce the requirements of prestige, Spain cannot well let go.

The results of the legislative elections in Spain, held the last week in April, showed by May 5 that the Chamber of Deputies (containing 409 members) will, with slight modifications, be constituted as follows: Ministerialists, 218—88 of



these being followers of Marquis Alhucemas, Premier; 48 of Count Romanones, Minister of Justice; 45 of Señor Alba, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and 17 of Señor Melquiades Alvarez, the leader who has promised his support to the Cabinet. Conservatives, 114, including the followers of Señor Maura, and 16 of Señor Lacierva. Catalonists, 22; Republicans, 10; Socialists, 7; Traditionalists, 9; Independents, 9, and Nationalists, 3.

The Senatorial elections were not held until May 13, the results so far available showing: Ministerialists, 105 seats; Conservatives, 46 seats, and other parties 29 seats. The Liberal Government, with a working majority in the Chamber, does not rely on a Senate majority.

Extra precautions were taken to guard the life of King Alfonso when, on May 28, he presented a stand of colors to a regiment in Retiro Park, Madrid, the public being excluded. His Majesty had ridden across the country in the centre of a cavalry escort. The arrest of two Syndicalists armed with revolvers and grenades, May 25, in the Spanish capital, had furnished justification for the strict precautions.

Cardinal Soldevilla y Romero, the aged Archbishop of Saragossa, was shot and killed while visiting a monastery in the vicinity of that city June 4 by unidentified men who have not been caught. The Cardinal was said to have had a dispute with workmen on his property. He had many enemies, though he had prominently shared in the Government's proposal to grant greater liberty to non-Catholics. As the Vatican's spokesman, however, he gave the Spanish Government, on the eve of the April elections, an ultimatum stating that it could not change the national Constitution.

## SWEDEN

The Swedish Riksdag members of the Interparliamentary Union of Northern Countries addressed to King Gustaf, June 2, a note requesting that Sweden officially call for a general assembly of nations to settle the Ruhr and reparations questions for the benefit of all Europe.

Swedish emigration to America exhausted the May quota in three weeks. The new emigration consists of highly skilled labor, such as metal workers, also farmers, all of whom purpose to become American citizens. German competition, underselling the Scandinavians, has contributed to the shutting down of factories and resultant unemployment.

Preparation for Swedish trade in Russia was indicated in the middle of May by activity of the paper mills, which granted three months' credit to the Soviet paper trust.

The Riksbank, reporting at the request of the

Government on the questions of restoring the gold standard, a free market for gold and free trade, stated that these would not be practical until political and economic changes restored stability in Europe. The Riksbank expressed its own purpose to maintain the krona at parity with the dollar, but opposed free convertibility of notes into gold unless in conjunction with other Continental countries.

## SWITZERLAND

On a charge of implication in the assassination of the Soviet envoy, M. Vorovsky, as an accessory before the fact, the Swiss police arrested, May 15; M. Paul Polonnine, Secretary of the Russian Red Cross under the Czarist régime. The Swiss authorities asserted that Polonnine knew the intentions of Maurice Conradi, who shot Vorovsky, and forwarded him 100 francs from Geneva to help defray his expenses. The former Russian officer, Polonnine, was wounded in the World War. He served subsequently in the armies of Kornilov and Denikin. M. Ahrens, whom Conradi wounded, was carried on a stretcher on board the special train that left Lausanne May 15 for Berlin, bearing Vorovsky's remains.

The Swiss Government, in its reply of May 22 to the Soviet Government's note on the Vorovsky assassination, characterized the Russian message as "audacious and arrogant." After full consideration, Switzerland found "nothing for which to reproach herself," and disclaimed responsibility for the assassination.

In conclusion, the note stated that Switzerland, "which has the right to demand reparation from the Soviet Government for the incredible acts of violence and plundering that it has committed against thousands of Swiss citizens, owes to no one any other satisfaction than that dictated by her duty to see to the impartial enforcement of the country's laws."

The Swiss police, May 20, on account of reported plots against the life of Ismet Pasha, chief of the Turkish delegation to the Near East Conference, requested Ismet to co-operate in their protection of him and discontinue taking his meals in the public dining room of his hotel. Reluctantly becoming practically a prisoner in his room, Ismet attended the conference sessions under strong guard. Extraordinary precautions were likewise taken with other delegates. M. Venizelos, the former Greek Premier, was shadowed by detectives, and the hotel housing the Turkish, French and Japanese delegates was surrounded at night by an additional force of detectives.

A Soviet propaganda fund of 15,000,000 francs in a Geneva bank was formally put under seal May 21 by the Swiss Government. It was believed that this money would be held for the

settlement of private Swiss claims against the Soviet Government, which amount to a far greater sum. Maurice Conradi, for instance, has a claim of almost 1,000,000 francs against the Soviet Government for nationalization of his father's property. The bank balked M. Ahrens's efforts to seize the fund after the assassination of his chief, Vorovsky, who had spent considerable sums in the Communist cause in Switzerland, Germany and Italy.

Soviet reprisals, as reported from Moscow, Petrograd and Kiev via Berlin on May 24 included arrests of several Swiss citizens, wrecking of Swiss shops and interdiction of visas for Swiss passports.

National rejection of the Federal project for a State alcoholic liquor monopoly was voted by the Swiss people June 3, the poll being 452,772 against the proposal and 259,741 for it. The project was regarded as a forerunner of intended prohibition.

The general management of the Federal railroads May 21 requested of the Railroad Department authorization for a nine-hour working day or longer for certain classes of employees, and for reduction of the annual vacation from four weeks to three.

## TRANSJORDANIA

Celebration of the independence of the new Arab State of Transjordan took place at Amman on May 25, under the rule of Emir Abdullah, second son of King Hussein. The declaration of the British Government conferring the rights of autonomy on the territory east of the Jordan was made by Sir Herbert Samuel, British High Commissioner in Palestine, who in the course of his speech said that the existence of an independent government was recognized provided it was constitutional and placed the British Government in a position to fulfill international obligations relating to the territory by an agreement to be concluded between the two Governments.

## TURKEY

Aside from the negotiations of the second Lausanne conference, which are dealt with elsewhere in this number, the most important event of the month with reference to Turkey was the passing of control of the Anatolian Railway into British

hands. The twenty-five-year fight for possession of this famous Berlin-to-Bagdad project was won by a British syndicate on May 15, when it bought up the shares of the Banque des Chemins de Fer Orient (Eastern Railway Bank) of Zurich, which is the holding bank for the Anatolian Railway. The British group, comprising five leading banking institutions of London, is backed by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which has large holdings in Mosul. The deal was negotiated at Lausanne.

British papers explained that the London syndicate had not acquired all the shares of the railway company, but only those of the Swiss bank, which, however, were sufficient to carry a controlling interest. Most of the remaining shares, it was understood, were held in Turkey, and it was intended to offer to a Turkish group also a participation in the business. It was pointed out that the deal was a plain business one and involved no kind of Anglo-German agreement, such as had been suggested in some of the French newspapers.

The Anatolian Railway, like the others in Asiatic Turkey, has sustained considerable damage from the fact of its having been in the war area more than nine years. It is proposed by the British group to advance at once \$25,000,000 for reorganization and rehabilitation of the road which runs from Haider Pasha to Konia, and the extension from Konia to Bagdad, which is more than half completed.

Further international complications in this part of the world were foreseen, as the Berlin-Bagdad line is in conflict with the new Chester concession, particularly along the Mosul frontier, and French reaction has been stirred afresh by sight of another vast Anatolian project passing into foreign hands.

Major Frank Holmes announced in Bagdad on May 14 that he had obtained for the Eastern and General Syndicate of London a valuable oil concession covering an area of 40,000 square miles from the Sultan of Nejd in the Hasa Province of Nejd, Arabia.

At a meeting (May 24) of the Ottoman-American Development Company, organized to develop the Chester concession, F. S. Blackwell, a director and stockholder, acting as spokesman, said that so far no arrangements had been made to finance development of the concession. The company is without a President, due to the resignation of General George W. Goethals, who was named as the first President.